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BY

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SOME LOST SAINTS' LIVES IN OLD AND
MIDDLE ENGLISH¹

THROUGHOUT the Middle Ages the lives and legends of the saints provided popular subjects for literature, partly because many of them combined the merits of devotional reading with the attraction of the marvellous. As we should expect the legends were usually written in Latin, but popular demand and the attempts of the clergy to provide a substitute for more purely secular literature soon led to the composition of versions in the vernacular. Many such lives of the saints still exist both in Old and in Middle English, but it is natural enough that others which once existed should since have been lost. Such literature, although free from many of the dangers which threatened the continued existence of more secular works, was not entirely exempt from the ravages of time or from the danger of accident. So, in the life of Dunstan by Osbern of Canterbury, we hear of a great fire at Christ Church which had destroyed many of their books, and Ailred of Rievaulx, if indeed he were the author of the *De Sanctis Ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis*, tells us that he has undertaken his task because the library at Hexham, containing numerous lives of the saints, had been completely destroyed by the Danes:

In qua denique devastatione monimenta, quæ de vita et miraculis sanctorum sancti patres ad posteritatis notitiam stilo transmiserant, constat esse consumpta.²

However, even when the vernacular work has been lost, references to it may occasionally be found elsewhere, and such references provide us with evidence for the former existence of such works.

It is especially fitting that the list of lost vernacular lives of the saints should open with one of St Alban, the protomartyr of Britain. Some time during the second half of the twelfth century a Latin life of this saint was written by a certain William of St Albans, and at the beginning of this life he tells us something of his sources:

Cum liber Anglico sermone conscriptus, Passionem beati Martyris Albani continens, ad nostram notitiam pervenisset; ut eum verbis Latinis exprimerem, præcepistis.³

Various Old English homilies dealing with the life of St Alban are still extant, but it seems certain that none of these can be the source from which William of St Albans drew, and we must conclude that the Old

¹ This article owes much to the criticism and helpful suggestions of Mr R. W. Hunt, and more especially I owe to him the reference to the vernacular version of the Life of St Helena and to the Life of St Edith printed in the *Analecta Bollandiana*.

² Surtees Society, XLIV, 190. There is, however, no indication that any of these writings were in English.

³ *Acta Sanctorum*, Jun. v, 129.

English life used by him has long since been lost. Actually, if we could trust the monastic chroniclers, it would seem that this is neither the only, nor even the earliest, vernacular life of the saint to have disappeared. In the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani* Matthew Paris has a long tale of how, in the time of Abbot Eadmer, the ninth abbot of the monastery, while various excavations were being carried out, a number of books and rolls were found hidden in a hole in a wall. Most of these contained pagan rites and invocations and were immediately destroyed, only a single volume with the life of St Alban 'Anglico vel Britannico idiomate conscriptam' being preserved. At the command of the abbot this was translated into Latin by a certain learned priest named Unwona and, the translation having been completed, the original immediately fell into dust:

Istius Abbatis tempore, dum fossores muros et abscondita terræ rimarentur, in medio civitatis antiquæ ejusdam magni palatii fundamenta diruerunt, et cum tantorum vestigia ædificiorum admirarentur, invenerunt in ejusdam muri concavo, deposito quasi armariolo, cum quibusdam minoribus libris et rotulis, ejusdam codicis ignotum volumen, quod parum fuit ex tam longæva mora demolitum. Cujus nec littera nec idioma alicui tunc invento cognitum, præ antiquitate, fuerat; venustæ tamen formæ, et manifestæ litteræ, fuerat; quarum epigrammata et tituli aureis litteris fulserunt redimiti. Asseres querni, ligamina serica, pristinam in magna parte fortitudinem et decorem retinuerunt. De ejus libri notitia cum multum longe lateque fuerat diligenter inquisitum, tandem unum senem, jam decrepitem, invenerunt sacerdotem, litteris bene eruditum, nomine 'Unwonam'; qui, imbutus diversorum idiomatum linguis ac litteris, legit distincte et aperte scripta libri prænominati. Similiterque in aliis codicibus, in eodem armariolo, et in eodem habitaculo, repertis, legit indubitanter, et exposuit expresse. Erat enim littera qualis scribi solet tempore quo cives Werlamecestram inhabitabant, et idioma antiquorum Britonum, quo tunc temporis utebantur; aliqua tamen in Latino, sed hiis non opus erat.

In primo autem libro, scilicet, majori, ejus prius fecimus mentionem, scriptam invenit Historiam de Sancto Albano, Anglorum Protomartyre, quam ecclesia diebus hodiernis recitat legendo; cui perhibet egregius doctor Beda testimonium, in nullis discrepando. In aliis vero libris, passim inventis, reperit lector prædictus invocationes et ritus idolatrarum civium Warlamecestrensiarum; in quibus compert quod specialiter Phœbum, deum solis, invocaverunt et coluerunt; quod perpendi potest per Historiam Sancti Albani, si eam sedulus lector intelligat. Secundario vero Mercurium, 'Woden' Anglice appellatum, (a quo quartus dies septimanæ intitulatur,) deum, videlicet, mercatorum: quia cives et compatriotæ, propter navigium civitatis, et commodum loci situm, per unam dielam tantum a Londoniis distantem, fore omnes negotiatores et institores fuerunt. Abjectis igitur et combustis libris, in quibus commenta diaboli continebantur, solus ille liber in quo Historia Sancti Albani continebatur, in thesauro carissimè reponebatur. Et sicut prædictus presbyter illam antiquo Anglico, vel Britannico, idiomate conscriptam, in quo peritus extitit, legerat, Abbas iste Eadmarus per prudentiores fratrum in Conventu fecit fideliter ac diligenter exponi, et plenius in publico prædicando edoceri. Cum autem conscripta historia in Latino pluribus, ut jam dictum est, innotuisset, exemplar primitivum ac originale,—quod mirum est dictu,—irrestaurabiliter in pulverem subito redactum, cecidit annullatum.¹

Despite such a circumstantial account it is difficult to believe in the former existence of a British version of the life of St Alban; the propa-

¹ *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, RS. 28, iv, i, 26.

ganda value of the tale is much too obvious and the unfortunate disappearance of the original as soon as it had been translated into Latin is much too suspicious. The whole account reminds us of the alleged discovery of the body of St Amphibalus at the same monastery in 1178, such a discovery, in the words of the chronicler, 'ut verum esse insinuent quod in libello passionis ejus scripto antiquis temporibus continetur',¹ though, since the saint in question is probably merely an invention from the cloak of St Alban, it is difficult to believe that the account was as ancient as the chronicler wished us to assume.

Another famous saint whom medieval legend connected with England appears to have had her life written in English in a version which no longer exists. This is St Helen, the mother of Constantine and the discoverer of the true cross. A Latin version of her life was composed by Jocelyn of Furness, a prolific hagiographer who lived during the second half of the twelfth century. In one of the manuscripts in which this life is contained we are told:

Huius gesta clarissima in diuersis historiis ecclesiasticis et cronicis catholicis sparsim strictiusque potius tanguntur quam describuntur, et nescio a quo forma nimis informi confuse collecta referuntur. In quodam eciam libello Anglice dictato eius uita seriatim dictatur, cuius auctor illum de Britannico sermone in Anglicum se transulisse testatur. De quibus omnibus quelibet fide digna, rationi consona et edificationi congrua sedit animo meo diligenter colligere et ad laudem dei...posteris transmittere.²

We need not, perhaps, take the supposed British original very seriously. In the Middle Ages the English liked to believe that the saint was originally the daughter of an innkeeper at York, and it was natural enough that the author of the Old English version should have attempted to give his work an air of authority by claiming it to be the translation of an earlier British account. In the same way, as we have seen, the monks of St Albans claimed to have had a British version of the martyrdom of their patron saint, and Geoffrey of Monmouth issued his *Historia Regum Britanniae* as the translation of an almost certainly fictitious British chronicle. However, we have no reason for disbelieving Jocelyn of Furness when he tells us that he is using an English life of the saint. A poetic version in Old English by Cynewulf is still preserved in the Vercelli Book, but this can hardly have been Jocelyn's source, which must have long since disappeared.

Another Old English poem preserved in the Vercelli Book tells of the adventures of St Andrew when engaged in the rescue of St Matthew from

¹ *Chronica Rogeri de Wendover*, RS. 84, I, 115.

² MS. Bodley 240 (2469), p. 801a. I owe this quotation to the kindness of Mr R. W. Hunt.

the man-eating Mermedonians. If the poem telling of the passion of St Thomas, which was known to Ælfric, included also the saint's adventures in India it must have been very similar to the Old English *Andreas*. In one of his homilies Ælfric excuses himself from telling of St Thomas:

Tomes ðrowunge we forlætað unawritene, forðan ðe heo wæs gefyrn awend of Ledene on Englisc on leoð-wison.¹

Elsewhere Ælfric mentions an Old English account of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul:

We willað æfter ðisum godspelle cow gereccan ðara apostola drohtunga and geendunge, mid scortre race; forðan ðe heora ðrowung is gehwær on Engliscum gereorde fulllice geendebyrd.²

He can hardly be referring here to the version in the Old English *Martyrology*, and in that case the work which he mentions must have long since been lost.

We should expect that the Anglo-Saxons would more especially have celebrated their own saints in the vernacular, and in fact quite a number of lives and legends in Old English are still extant, either individually or in collections. In addition we have references to others which have since disappeared. St Oswald of Northumbria was one of the most popular of the Old English saints, and his life and death were described in some detail by Bede. A later biographer, Reginald of Durham, writing in the middle of the twelfth century, tells us that he had obtained much of his information from English sources. At first sight we may suspect that he is referring to the Old English version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, or perhaps to Ælfric's life of the king, but the statement is preceded by an interesting and detailed description of Oswald's person such as is found neither in Bede nor in Ælfric. Consequently it would seem probable that Reginald derived his information from some Old English version of the saint's life which has since been lost:

Venerabilis itaque rex Oswaldus, martyr Christi egregius, sicut antiquitas veridica contestatur, his proprietatum pulchritudinibus facie tenus insigniter. Erat nimirum statura procerus, flamenti cesarie citrinus, glaucis oculis radiantibus conspicuus, facie producta, barba admodum pertenui, paululum facie candenti sublongus, circa vultus gloriam herili plenitudine rotundus; mento decente compositus, labris modice minutis cum dulcedine stillanti amore jocundus, naso vero media virtutis plenitudine ceteræ faciei similitudini consonante coruscus. Manus vero ejus et brachia multæ simul longitudinis et plenæ fortitudinis, animi audacis, ferocis simul atque robusti pectoris, lenitum mentis compassione flexibilis. In humeris vero illius plenitudo eminebat, condensæ spissitudinis, quæ, ut aiunt, indicium solet esse fortitudinis; circa renes vero graciliter herilibus tibiis a poplite in immensum descendantibus oblongis. Hæc Robertus vir ingenuus de hospitali, quod est in Eboraco, se sic in libris veteribus Anglicis descripta invenisse retulit, cujus etiam genus dictaminis in modernæ linguæ modulatione rhythmico pedis metro decurrit.³

¹ B. Thorpe, *Homilies of Ælfric* (London, 1844), II, 521.

² Ibid. I, 371.

³ Symeon of Durham, RS. 75, I, 378.

In addition to this written record of the life of Oswald there seem to have existed, during the Old English period, numerous popular tales about the king which began to grow up soon after his death. Bede himself tells us that his dying words had already become proverbial:

Vulgatum est autem, et in consuetudinem prouerbi uersum, quod etiam inter uerba orationis uitam finerit. Nam cum armis et hostibus circumseptus iamamque uideret se esse perimendum, orauit pro animabus exercitus sui. Unde dicunt in prouerbio: 'Deus miserere animabus, dixit Oswald cadens in terram.'¹

In connexion with this it may be worth noting that Reginald of Durham seems to indicate that his lost Old English source was in verse, and Professor Klaeber has shown the ease with which these proverbial last words of the king can be turned into alliterative verse:

Dryhtin, miltsa dugupa sawlum,
Cwæð Oswald cynning, þa he on eorþan sag.²

However there is no reason to suppose that both Bede and Reginald are referring to the same Old English version, or that Bede knew of any account of Oswald's death in verse. Such sayings as this may well have been in verse with the rest of the narrative in prose, after the fashion of the Old Norse sagas.³

Others, too, of the early saints seem to have been commemorated in English. Thomas of Ely, the twelfth-century author of part of the *Liber Eliensis*, tells us that he has made use of English writings:

Cum animadverterem excellentiam Elyensis Insulæ, et animo versarem quæ, ob merita sanctorum virginum in ea quiescentium, collata et conscripta sunt admiranda opera, et eventus insulæ, ac gesta magnorum; animum contuli ad ea, quæ minus per seriem annorum, et temporum; et regum atque dominorum insulæ inclita gesta, quæve disperse vel confuse Anglico stilo inserta sunt, et bona facta atque miracula sanctorum sanctorumque ibidem Deo militantium, secundum ordinem in historiam explicare temptavi. Apud nos enim hujusmodi congesta per ordinem et insimul hystoriam scripta adhuc minime habentur, nisi vitæ et miracula sanctorum illic quiescentium, de hystoriis, de cronicis, de scriptis Anglicis et Latinis, de testamentis, de relatione collecta fidelum.⁴

The nature of these English writings is not here specified more closely, and similarly, when dealing with the miracles of St Etheldretha, with whom most of the first book is concerned, the author speaks only in general terms of his English sources:

Fratrum itaque desiderio diligenter ac sollicitè operam dantes satisfacere curavimus, quæ in Bedæ, quæ in scriptis Anglicis vel Latinis de gloriosa domina et patrona nostra Etheldretha apud nos inventa sunt scripta, juxta modulum intelligentiæ nostræ in unum historiam texuimus: etiam quid metro de eadem ipse recensuit, nunc addere oportet.⁵

¹ C. Plummer, *Beda's Opera Historica* (Oxford, 1896), i, 151.

² *Philological Quarterly*, xvi, 214.

³ Cf. C. E. Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1939), pp. 32 ff.

⁴ D. J. Stewart, *Liber Eliensis* (London, 1848), p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 72.

But elsewhere Thomas of Ely seems to speak definitely of an English version of the life of Etheldretha:

Verum si forte libellum de vita illius conscriptum Anglico quis ostenderit, in eo plura existunt quæ hic minime reperiuntur.¹

However, despite this, it must perhaps remain doubtful whether the author was in fact using an English life of the saint. Similarly, a reference to St Felix, bishop of East Anglia, unmistakably indicates an English source for the information, but probably does not refer to an English life of that saint:

In Anghco quippe legitur quod sanctus Felix vetus monasterium apud Schrum et ecclesiam in Redham primitus condidit.²

On the other hand an equally vague reference to St Sexburg almost certainly does refer to a vernacular life of the saint:

In Anghco quidem legimus quod Sexburga, in ecclesia de Scepeia quam construxerat, a beato Theodoro archiepiscopo sanctitatis velamen accepit, atque ibidem filia ipsius Ermenilda sub ea normam religionis, spreto regni culmine, postea sumpsit.³

In a Latin life preserved in MS. Cotton Caligula A viii the author tells us that he proposes to give a revised edition of the life of the saint, partly from Saxon authorities. That these Saxon authorities included a life of the saint we know from the fact that a fragment of this Old English life is still extant in MS. Lambeth 427, and this has been used by the author of the Latin life.⁴ However, apart from this fragment we know nothing of the Old English life of St Sexburg.

More definite evidence for the existence of a vernacular life which has since been lost is provided in the case of St Ethelwold. Thomas of Ely tells us of its existence and informs us that it was translated into Latin by the command of Bishop Hervey, the first bishop of the see of Ely:

De quorum siquidem consortio B. Adolwoldus, electus Dei pontifex, suis temporibus floruit; cujus vita virtutibus gloriosa et miraculis clara effulsit: de quo si cui minus claret, et plenius scire desiderat, legat librum qui de ortu et de vita, necnon de obitu ejus, contextus est, et inveniet liquido quanti meriti, quantæque sanctitatis fuerit. Quædam vero insignia ejus, quæ gesserat in vita sua, in illo libro non sunt contexta, nec erant stylo exarata Latino; quæ dum vir prudens et egregius Herveus, venerabilis Eliensis ecclesiæ episcopus, relatu digna comperibat, rogatu quorundam fratrum mihi injunxit, ut ea de Anglico idiomate in Latinum sermonem transferrem.⁵

This Latin version, which has been used by the chronicler of Ely, is found in some manuscripts as a separate tract.⁶

¹ D. J. Stewart, *Liber Eliensis* (London, 1848), p. 7.

² Ibid. p. 21.

³ Ibid. p. 77.

⁴ T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, RS. 26, i, 360.

⁵ D. J. Stewart, *Liber Eliensis* (London, 1848), pp. 94, 95.

⁶ T. D. Hardy, op. cit. i, 590.

Another indefinite account of his sources is that given by Faricius, a foreigner who became abbot of Abingdon (d. 1117) and wrote a life of St Aldhelm:

Verumtamen non ea tantum quæ per eum, summo Optice præstante, vidimus magnalia, sed et quæ curiose indagando, in multis reperimus barbarice atque Latine paginis assignata; quorum aliquam partem Romana privilegia diversorumque regum traditiones, sub multorum præsulum abbatumve testimonis inscripta, nostris adhuc testantur temporibus; necnon ea quæ a veridicis et regulariter monastico ordine degentibus vel ab aliis diverso ordine catholice conversantibus, sæpe audivimus facta per merita servi sui, quæ ipsi aut corporeis oculis viderunt, aut a primoribus suis, jam in coelesti gaudio ante divinæ conspectum clementiæ congaudentibus, frequenter audierunt; qui se volumen ex virtutibus ejus lucido stylo dicebant legisse, sed Danorum tempore, cum adhuc Christi ecclesiam persequerentur, perdisisse: qui omnia Deo nostro, illis ignoto, dedicata, aut pedibus conculcabant, aut, ira superante rationem, igne concremabant, seu quocunque modo poterant annullabant.¹

Similarly, when giving a list of the works of Aldhelm he tells us that the account is taken from an old volume still in the library of Malmesbury, 'de quodam antiquissimo codice, in ejusdem ecclesiæ armario reperto'.² Whether Faricius was actually using an Old English life of the saint, and whether the volume written 'lucido stylo', which was lost or damaged during the Danish invasions, was in English it is impossible to say. Probably not, since it is hardly likely that Faricius had much knowledge of Old English. In fact he tells us in his prologue that he has utilized the services of an interpreter in dealing with his Old English material:

Istius nomen Primatis multum eximium, secundo loco fratrem fuisse Kenten, virum probum, sanctitate lautum, honestate magnificum, antiquissimis Anglicanæ linguæ schedulis sæpius ex interprete legendo audivimus.³

On the whole the probability is that his Old English sources were documents such as charters rather than any connected narrative of the saint, though the suggestion of Sir Henry Howorth that one of them may have been the lost copy of Alfred's *Handboc*, which was afterwards used by William of Malmesbury, is perhaps worth considering.⁴

One of the greatest of the Old English saints was Dunstan, round whose name legends seem to have gathered very early. Various Latin lives of the saint are extant and in one of them, that written by Osbern of Canterbury towards the end of the eleventh century, we hear of a disastrous fire in the monastery which had destroyed a number of saints'

¹ *Patrologia Latina*, LXXXIX, 63.

² *Ibid.* p. 71.

³ *Ibid.* p. 65. In connexion with this we may note that William of Malmesbury, who wrote a life of Aldhelm soon afterwards, is rather severe on Faricius' ignorance of Old English (*Gesta Pontificum*, RS. 52, p. 331).

⁴ Sir Henry Howorth, *The Golden Days of the Early English Church* (London, 1917), II, 452.

lives. In order to supply the deficiency he intends to translate into Latin an English version of the life of Dunstan:

Qui vero in utraque parte dicendi elaboraverunt, ut essent festivi pariter atque secundum gestas res bene ordinati, horum scripta in illo incendio consumpta sunt, quod ante hos annos sancta Dorobernensis ecclesia cum magno suarum rerum detrimento perpressa fuisse dignoscitur. Sed ab his, inquit, aliqua in patrum, id est Anglicam sermonem, translata supersunt; ex quibus vel id potimus elicere, et in Latinam denuo poteris linguam, Deo suffragante, transferre.¹

Similar statements are found in the life of the same saint by Eadmer of Canterbury who seems to have borrowed from Osbern, though he may independently have used the Old English life of Dunstan which no longer exists.

In the extant thirteenth-century catalogue of the library of Leominster one of the items is given as:

Rotula cum vita sancti Guthlaci anglice scripta.²

St Guthlac was a seventh-century hermit at Croyland whose life was written in Latin soon after his death by Felix of Croyland. Various Old and Middle English versions of his life still exist, but it seems unlikely that any one of these can represent the entry here. The three extant Old English versions, the poem in the Exeter Book and prose versions in two Cottonian manuscripts, are all in volumes and not in rolls. Middle English versions of the life are also extant in three manuscripts, but all three were copied at a date subsequent to the drawing up of the Leominster catalogue. In the Harleian collection there is a roll, Harley Roll Y 6, which contains pictures of the life of St Guthlac. Nothing seems to be known of the original provenance of the roll, nor is it known from what source the Harleys obtained it. It is usually assumed to be a product of Croyland, though this seems to be merely a guess from the subject. In any case the inscriptions to the pictures are in Latin, not English, and the description in the Leominster catalogue seems to indicate a written work rather than a series of pictures. The Leominster roll may have been a lost vernacular life of the saint, but more probably it was merely another copy of one of the extant lives or else an extract from one of the legends.

It is particularly fitting that Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester, one of the last supporters of the Old English literary tradition, should also have been the last of the Anglo-Saxon saints to have had his life written in the vernacular. He died in 1095 and soon after his death his life was written in English by his chaplain Coleman. However the knowledge of Old English at Worcester must have been rapidly dying out, and when

¹ *Patrologia Latina*, cxxxvii, 413.

² *English Historical Review*, iii, 124.

William of Malmesbury visited the monastery in search of historical materials during the early years of the twelfth century he was asked by the monks to translate Coleman's work into Latin. It is to this work, in which William tells us that he has followed his Old English original closely, that we owe our knowledge of Coleman's life of the saint:

Is ert Colemanus monachus uester, uir nec scientia imperitus, nec sermone patrio infacetus. Scripsit enim Anglice ne gestorum auolaret memoria; uitam eiusdem patris, si attendas ad sensum, lepore graui, si ad litteram, simplicitate rudi. Dignus cui fides non derogetur in aliquo; quippe qui nouerit intime mores, magistri ut discipulus, et religionem ut quindecim annis capellanus. Hucus ego ut uoluistis insistens scriptis, nichil turbaui de rerum ordine; nichil corrupti de gestorum ueritate.¹

Of William of Malmesbury's original nothing is now known, though it was certainly still in existence at the beginning of the thirteenth century when negotiations were in progress for the canonization of Wulfstan. The papal delegates, in addition to satisfying themselves as to the genuineness of certain miracles which were reported to have been worked by the saint, arranged that there should be sent to the Pope under the seals of the Bishop and convent 'scripturam quoque autenticam de uita ipsius ante centum annos Anglicana lingua conscriptam'. There can be little doubt that the work thus sent was the actual life by Coleman, and the probability is that it remained in Rome. At any rate there seems to be no record of any subsequent return of the book to England. However this was apparently not the only saint's life written in English by Coleman, since William of Malmesbury tells us that he had translated back into Latin passages from the life of St Gregory which, together with many others, Coleman had translated into English:

Licet enim mihi de beati Gregorii uita dictum mutuari; quod a Colemanno in patriam linguam ut pleraque alia uersum, ego transfudi denuo in latinum.²

But we know nothing whatever of this English version of the life of Gregory, nor do we even know the names of the other saints celebrated by the monk of Worcester.

It was natural enough that the lives of the great Old English saints should have been written in the vernacular, but it is more surprising to find that there was formerly in existence an English version of the life of St Ninian, the apostle of the Picts. In the Latin life, supposed to be by Ailred of Rievaulx, which is preserved in the thirteenth-century MS. Cotton Tiberius D iii, the author professes to give a detailed account of the saint founded on Bede, and also on a 'liber de uita et miraculis eius barbarice scriptus', whilst the colophon adds the further information:

¹ R. R. Darlington, *Vita Wulfstani* (London, 1928), p. 2.

² *Ibid.* p. 11. However it is not certain that the reference here is to any complete lives of saints.

'Vita Sancti Niniani, Episcopi et Confessoris, ab Ailredo Rievallense Abbate de Anglico in Latinum translato.'¹ Nothing further is known of this English life of the saint, though we have no reason to disbelieve in its former existence.

Another extant Latin life translated from an Old English original which has since disappeared is that of St Indract, preserved in the early twelfth-century MS. Bodley Digby 112. In his tract *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae* William of Malmesbury seems to imply that he had written a life of St Indract:

Illos ego libellos, sed et vitam beati Patricii, miracula venerabilis Benigni, passionem martyris Indracti, qui simili cura procederam, jam pridem in eorum permisi versari manibus, ut si quid citra rationem dictum esset, corrigeretur pro tempore.

and again:

Indractum vero cum sociis ibidem martyrizatum, et sepultum, sicut alias stylus noster non tacuit.²

However, a different extant Latin life of the saint seems to be claimed as the work of William of Malmesbury, so that it is doubtful whether we can attribute the version in the Bodleian manuscript to him. In any case, whoever the author may have been, he is careful in his closing words to make it clear that all his statements have the authority of an Old English original:

Finem dicendi, hic, patres et domini constituto; non quod alia non sint quae de hujus martiris sociorumve ejus actis possint referri mirabilibus, sed ne de re tam antiqua, et ob hoc quam plurimum incerta, videar non de Anglica lingua in Latinam eorum acta vertisse, sed (quae) cordi advenere prorsus scriptitasse. Ob hoc itaque vitans hujus dictionis prolixitatem, statui non alia scribere quam quae in exemplar Anglicum valui reperire.³

For later vernacular lives of the saints the evidence is less convincing, and in many cases the works themselves are probably still extant. The author of the *Ancren Riwele* refers his readers to 'our Engliche boe of Seinte Margarete',⁴ and this is almost certainly a reference to the vernacular life of that saint preserved in the *Katherine Group*. In the late fourteenth-century catalogue of the library at Peterborough we find in one of the volumes:

Vita S. Thome Martyris Anglice.⁵

No Middle English work of the fourteenth century or earlier is known which deals with Becket alone, but in the various manuscripts of the

¹ T. D. Hardy, op. cit. I, 45.

² *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXIX, 1682, 1691.

³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, RS. 90, I, cxviii.

⁴ Ed. J. Morton (London, 1853), p. 244.

⁵ *Trans. Bib. Soc.* Supplement 5, p. 72.

Southern Legendary the life and death of Becket are treated at considerable length. Consequently it is perhaps improbable that the entry here represents a lost Middle English version of the saint's life; more probably it was simply an extract from one of the legendaries. Again, in the fifteenth-century catalogue of Syon monastery there are references to vernacular versions of the lives of Jerome and Francis, and to the legend of the three kings of Cologne, whilst in fifteenth-century wills we find references to the lives of SS. Matilda, Brigid, Katherine of Siena, Alban and Amphibalus, but our knowledge of fifteenth-century religious writings is too small for us to say definitely whether these works are still extant or not.

This completes the evidence for definite vernacular versions of lives of the saints which have since been lost, but it is improbable that the list is at all complete. In these few cases the authors of the extant Latin lives happen to have left us definite information concerning their original authorities, but at other times the information given is quite indefinite. So Jocelyn of Canterbury, writing towards the end of the eleventh century, tells us in his prologue to the life of St Edith that he has made use of both oral and written evidence:

Pauca autem de multis que fidelum testimonio uel patriis libris didicimus tam fiducialiter exponimus, ut pro hystoria notitia pocius epitalamium odizare gestiamus.¹

Later on, when telling how Theodoric, one of the original dancers of Colbeck, was healed at the shrine of St Edith he tells how the whole affair was written down at the command of the abbess:

Hec in presencia memorate abbatisse Brihgtue declarata et patris literis sunt mandata.²

No doubt this was one of the English books used by the author, but he tells us nothing definite about his other sources, whether English or Latin. Such vernacular sources were not, of course, confined to English, as is seen by the fact that Irish and Scottish sources are sometimes mentioned. So, for example, Geoffrey, abbot of Burton 1114-51, tells us that he obtained some of the materials for his life of St Modwenna from Ireland and 'de lingua barbara'.³ Adamnan, in his life of Columba, tells us that he has used poems in the Scottish tongue in praise of the saint,⁴

¹ A. Wilmart, 'La légende de Ste Édith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin' (*Analecta Bollandiana*, LVI, 39).

² Loc. cit. p. 292. But K. Sisam, *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose* (Oxford, 1925), p. xxxvii, n. 1, claims that *patriis literis* means merely 'English script' and not necessarily 'English language'. The words are certainly ambiguous, but since the event described took place before the Conquest the probability is that English rather than Latin was used.

³ T. D. Hardy, op. cit. i, 97.

⁴ Ibid. i, 170.

and Jocelyn of Furness used a 'codiculum stilo Scotico dietatum' for his life of St Kentigern.¹ But more frequently the author merely tells us that he has had access to some very early manuscript or other authority without specifying the language of his original. So the author of the life of St Cyned states that he had seen much more concerning him in a manuscript which he had met with in Wales and which was nearly illegible from age.² The extant life of St Gudwal is an extract from one more ancient,³ and the author of the life of St Egwine tells us that he is relating what he has gathered from ancient writings, and in fact it is probably based on Egwine's own autobiography.⁴ In most cases, no doubt, such ancient writings, if they existed at all, were probably in Latin, but that this was not invariably the case is shown by the life of St Mildreth in which the author tells us that he is borrowing from an ancient account of her life, and which is really based on an Old English life still extant in MS. Cotton Caligula A xiv.⁵

It must be remembered, too, that vernacular legends of the saints existed in other than written accounts, and that an oral literature had grown up round the more popular ones, just as it had grown up round some of the heroes of epic and romance. Such was the case with St Kenelm, for whose existence there is not the slightest historical evidence, and who seems to have been entirely a popular creation.⁶ In addition it has been shown that other popular tales had grown up round such Old English saints as Oswine, Æthelberht, Edmund, Dunstan, Eadward and others,⁷ and although many of these popular tales were later incorporated in the Latin biographies it seems certain that they must have been current first of all in the oral vernacular literature. Nor did this cease with the Conquest; in later times many saints were canonized popularly but never officially, and the tales which grew up round them were almost certainly in the vernacular. So for example with John Schorn, who put the devil into a shoe,⁸ and the legends which flourished round Thomas of Lancaster, Edward II and Archbishop Scrope.

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LEEDS.

¹ T. D. Hardy, *op. cit.* i, 208.

² *Ibid.* i, 372.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, 415.

⁶ *Leeds Studies in English*, v, 15 ff.

⁷ See especially Dr C. E. Wright, *op. cit.*

⁸ G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, i, 545 ff.

² *Ibid.* i, 84.

⁵ *Ibid.* i, 377

DID SHAKESPEARE PRODUCE HIS OWN PLAYS?

RECENTLY in the opening paragraph of an article on the Mousetrap scene of *Hamlet* Professor Sisson expressed the opinion:

The process of adapting a play of his [Shakespeare's] for the stage was no formality, nor was it in his own hands. It was, as always, a process of some difficulty and delicacy, and was a matter for expert co-operative effort, however competent or distinguished the dramatist might be. . . . It would be a great assumption to maintain that the final result, thus attained, was entirely under his direction, to his taste, or even with his agreement at all points.¹

With this statement I am in entire agreement. On the other hand, Professor Dover Wilson in his introduction written for the facsimile edition of the folio text of *The Tempest* remarks of the stage directions:

Their elaboration and particularity suggest that either the author was not a man of the theatre or that he was for some reason unable personally to supervise the production of his play, and had therefore to make his intentions quite clear in the body of the text. Shakespeare retired to Stratford, as is usually supposed, about 1611.²

Referring to the punctuation, he suggests that the excessive care evident in the text occurs, 'possibly once again because Shakespeare was away in Stratford and unable to control the rehearsal in person'.³ He makes substantially the same statement in the corresponding edition of *Coriolanus*. Nine years previously he had stated in 'The Copy used for *The Tempest*, 1623':

The stage-directions of *The Tempest* possess a beauty and elaboration without parallel in the canon. They bear the unmistakable impress of the master's hand; but their presence suggests that the master himself did not contemplate personal supervision of the production for which they were written. Shakespeare retired to Stratford in 1611 and the abridgment may therefore have been carried through in his study at New Place.⁴

Each of these quotations assumes as truths accepted by everyone that Shakespeare produced his own plays and consequently directed the rehearsals. No direct nor indirect evidence exists to support these statements; they may be true but they are guesses. Perhaps a century of iteration, the editorial habit of repetition, and credulity born of rapid reading will in time elevate them to the status of 'literary facts'. Certainly the stage directions of *The Tempest* are slightly more numerous, definite and particular than is customary in the plays, yet, outside of the necessary entrances and exits, they do not amount to forty lines in all. In number, length and detail they are surpassed by those in 1 *Henry VI*,

¹ *Review of English Studies*, xvi, no. 62, April 1940.

² *The Tempest*, Facsimile edition (1930), Introduction.

³ *Ibid.*, Introduction.

⁴ In *The New Shakespeare, The Tempest* (1921), p. 80.

2 *Henry VI*, *Titus Andronicus* and *Henry VIII*, and they do not much exceed what we find in *Timon of Athens*; all these plays are in the canon. Reasons other than the postulated retirement to Stratford probably determined the 'particularity' of which Professor Wilson writes; there is a shipwreck, stage thunder and noises, musical and not so musical, fill the air, the play contains a masque, and very free use is made of the supernatural. We do not know when Shakespeare retired to Stratford. Plague raged in London from July to December in each year from 1606 to 1610. During the winters of 1608 and 1609 King James gave subsidies to the King's men to enable them to rehearse privately. Prudent men able to do so left London for the country. There was more reason for Shakespeare to leave London in 1610 when the theatre was closed for nearly all the year than in 1611 when there was no plague. We know he was in London twice in 1612, once if not twice in 1613, and also late in 1614. If the poet made an abridgment of *The Tempest*—for this there is no accepted evidence—he could have done it as easily in his London lodgings as 'in his study at New Place', if he had a study. Literary criticism has always refused, and wisely, to confine its flights of fancy within the narrow range marked out by facts. Unless we commentators on Shakespeare's plays may give reins to our fancy and 'frolic in conjecture', as Sam Johnson says, how are we to puff out our airy nothings into the semblance of a book? Most of the statements made about Shakespeare's life are necessarily half-truths, and many a biography reminds us of Falstaff's tavern-bill; we get one half-pennyworth of fact to an intolerable deal of conjecture.

Any serious answer to the question whether Shakespeare produced his own plays must take into account, first, the system of management and make-up of repertory companies such as the King's Servants and, secondly, the conditions under which plays were written by the dramatists, were bought by the actors and were staged by them. Three hundred and thirty years ago the actor-sharers who held under the royal seal the title of King's Servants were high in the royal favour; they held the official position and wore the livery of Grooms of the Royal Chamber, owned theatres, employed actors and supernumeraries, bought plays, produced them and became well-to-do on their profits. At a time when the hired actor was paid at most 10s. per week and an industrious dramatist such as Heywood earned less than £40 a year, each partner in this company might earn £60 or even £100 a normal year, or about £600 of our paper money. They were a joint-stock company and combined in themselves all the diverse functions of theatre-owner, lessee, manager,

and star-actor. Successful men such as Burbage, Heminge, Condell and Shakespeare bought lands and leases, acquired the right to a crest, were styled gentlemen in legal deeds and held the parochial offices open to men of character and substance. Legally any actor who was not the 'servant' of some nobleman was a rogue and vagabond; it was the contrast between this legal status of the strolling player and the wealth, influence and social importance of such actors as Alleyn, Burbage, Heminge and Shakespeare that made the needy dramatists so bitter. Two months after Burbage's death the famous Earl of Pembroke wrote that 'he could not endure to see' a play 'so soone after the loss of my old acquaintance Burbadg'. Greene's famous parody of a line from 3 *Henry VI*,

O Tygers hart wrapt in a Players hide,

is the more bitter because 'the vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers' was taking the bread out of his reviler's mouth. Dekker took up the hymn of hate and compares the 'player that feeds on the fruits of divine poetry' to swine fattening on acorns. Jonson railed at the actors in his *Poetaster* and told Drummond that he had not got £200 from all his plays; yet half of these were written when the price had more than doubled.

Occasionally a young man may have padded the hoof to London with a play in his wallet, but usually plays were bespoken by the actors very much as follows. First the poet sketched his plot in outline and wrote one or two scenes; he then discussed this plot and the scenes with one or more prominent members of the company. If they approved of the author's suggestions, they would come to terms with him, fix the price and pay about a third of it in advance. When he had completed about half the play he usually read it to two or three leading actors, listened to their comments and suggestions, discussed their criticism and received an additional progress payment. Sometimes he gave the company a fair copy of this portion to help them to prepare parts for the actors. On finishing the play he read it to the full company; sometimes the meeting was held at a tavern, and the play would be criticized between drinks, the author making clear his meaning and intention. After giving the actors the complete manuscript he would receive the balance of the purchase money, and would not retain any interest of any kind in the play. He could not print it even when it was taken off the acting list, unless the company gave him permission; after 1609 this privilege was very rarely granted. I cannot stress too strongly the fact that the actors could do whatever they liked with the play they had bought. They could produce as much or as little as they pleased, could cut out scenes and replace them with others not written by the author; they might ask another playwright to rewrite or

'mend' it. Elizabethan dramatists seem to have been unpunctual and often kept the actors waiting for weeks beyond the date fixed for the delivery of the complete play.

We have very little first-hand or detailed knowledge of the methods adopted in staging a play written for the public theatres. It is easier to suggest than to answer questions. Who allotted the parts? Who prepared the play for acting and upon what principles was it prepared? Who decided what costumes and properties were necessary? Who bought the new articles required? Who supervised the rehearsals? Who, in short, was the producer-in-chief?

So little do we know of the practice and history of our early stage that any answers to these questions must be largely conjectural. Fortunately we know something about the organization of the Elizabethan dramatic companies; it was based on the principle of equal reward for equal service. Each actor-sharer who had paid for his portion of the company's property, such as play-books, wardrobe, stage furniture and properties, had the full rights of a partner; he gave the best service of which he was capable, received his just share of the profits, and had his voice on all that affected the common welfare. A star-actor might get what the profession call the 'fat' parts, but his reward, apart from his share of the takings, would be the plaudits of the audience, praise rather than solid pudding; no Elizabethan company made the play centre on him or mutilated it as a sop to his vanity. Harmonious team-work meant a successful play, and any actor who suffered from the mummer's disease called the artistic temperament, a euphemism for a disposition compact of selfishness, vanity, conceit, peevish self-will and recurrent explosiveness of bad temper, would soon find it expedient to restrain such overflowings within reasonable limits; otherwise he might be forced to sell his share and leave the company. There were no actresses to set men by the ears and drive them to distraction with their whimsies and caprice. Boys playing female parts were usually apprentices to individual actors; if they put on with their starched ruffs and farthingales the feminine foibles that finery tends to engender they were soundly whipped. If a boy sulked, refused to learn his part or played it badly, his master called to mind Solomon's proverb and did not spoil the child.

We do not know who allotted the parts among the actors. After the author had read his play to the full company, the partners probably settled the cast according to the known ability of each or individual preference. For the king, the hero, the lover, the villain, the gallant and the man-of-fashion, Shakespeare's fellows had Burbage, Heminge, Condell,

Phillips, Lowen and the poet, whilst Kemp, Pope, Singer, Sly, Cowley and Armin could play the clown, the gull, the town boor, the country yokel, the constable, the justice of the peace, the braggart or the fool. I do not think Shakespeare had the members of the company in his mind when he was writing his plays, but in the King's men as in every stock company each actor would be usually cast for a character that he played with credit and popular approbation. 'I ha' play'd King's part any time these ten years', says a Player to Haddit an author, in *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl*.¹ Certainly a halfpenny-a-line author without knowledge or experience of acting would have no say in casting his play; the 'quality' held their craft or 'mystery' of play-acting in high reverence, and would have scouted advice on this main essential of their business. Actor-sharers who wrote plays as a side-line, such as Shakespeare, Heywood, Rowley, Armin and Field, would each have his say in making up the cast but no more. We have one piece of direct evidence on this point. Robert Armin, 'servant to the Kings most excellent Maiestie', as he styles himself on the title-page of his play,

The History of two Mands of More-clacke, with the life and simple maner of Iohn in the Hospitall. Played by the Children of the Kings Maiesties Revels,

tells us in the 'Epistle to Reader' that the writer 'would have againe inacted Iohn myselfe but.. I cannot do as I would', and that he had been 'requested both of Court and Citty, to show him in priuate'. Armin was a sharer in the King's Company and a good comedian, yet he had so little voice in the staging of his own play at the Globe that he was not allotted the part in which he had pleased the town elsewhere. Not enough is known of the stage history of this play to discover where Armin first 'inacted Iohn'.

Who adapted the author's play for representation? Was an over-long play cut down to size by the whole body of actor-sharers, or by the author, or by an actor with a reputation for fairness and good judgment? I shall not spend much time in discussing the first possibility; eight or nine actors each with a part in a new play would not remain very long on speaking terms if each thought all the others were bent on robbing him of his best lines. Construction of a good acting version demands a competent knowledge of acting values from the view-point of the ordinary spectator; retention or excision of lines, passages, episodes, or even scenes must be done without bias or prejudice. Half or more of one man's part might be struck out, and almost the whole of another's retained in order that the play should act well. Adapting a play for stage representation must

¹ Dodsley's *Old Plays* (1780), vi, 388.

usually be a job for one man, and very frequently the author would be the worst possible choice. Johnson's epigram,

We that live to please must please to live,

was a prime article of the actors' creed in Elizabethan days; they declined to permit an author to bestow all his tediousness upon their audiences. *Hamlet* is a very good acting play, as enthralling as any mystery 'thriller', if we excise about fifteen hundred lines of magnificent poetry that tend to retard the swiftness of the action. John Masefield, our poet laureate, told me that he staged the play as it appears in the first quarto, which is over sixteen hundred lines shorter than the received text.

I have said that the dramatists were abjectly dependent on the actors; the latter paid the piper and insisted on their right of calling the tune. What could the unfortunate author do about it? When *Hamlet* was written, only two companies were playing in London; Shakespeare had the choice between serving his own 'fellows' or joining the starving hacks who were toiling fitfully and hopelessly in Henslowe's dramatic treadmill. Even in our day when a popular playwright makes his own terms, the producer still claims and exercises his right of making such abridgments as he thinks fit. If the Elizabethan actors refused to permit the author to interfere with the production of his play, they would be adamant in declining to allow two, three or more collaborators such liberty. Collaboration in the making of plays had become almost a necessity in a period when there was a daily change of programme and a new play was being bespoke and produced every two or three weeks. Henslowe's diary shows that 143 plays were written by authors whose names are stated; of these sixty-eight were one-man plays, forty-three two-men plays and thirty-two were each the composite work of three or more dramatists. It seems absurd even to suggest that each contributor of a few scenes to a rapidly botched-up drama claimed, and had his claim allowed, the right of deciding how much of his work the actors might excise.

Perhaps some critic will contend that an actor-sharer who wrote plays for his own company, a Shakespeare, Rowley, Armin, Field or Heywood, would be permitted by his partners to abridge his own play. If so, he would, like Desdemona, 'perceive here a divided duty'. His play once written, the poet shrank into actor-partner, a member of a firm of public entertainers who bought plays for the purpose of their business. Why should the customary conditions of sale not apply to his own play? Shakespeare's company needed nearly twenty plays a year, he supplied an average of two. Heminge and Condell have told us that his 'mind and hand went together'; that hand almost invariably filled from the copious

overflowings of that mind more leaves of manuscript than were necessary for a two-hour play. He did not measure out his lines as a draper does yards of calico for a customer, and never troubled, probably did not know, how, to exercise that economy of effort which experience taught Heywood, Dekker, Fletcher, Webster and even voluminous Jonson. He was, methinks, without the vanity of smaller men, and smiled philosophically while some friend butchered his verse to make a groundling's holiday. If his was the job of cutting down outsize plays, he would play the Roman father to his own; if another partner wielded the blue pencil or its Elizabethan equivalent, he would probably mutter some of friend William's choicest objurgations as he read on and on, and get busy with the purple passages. Actors and the public wanted 'a good tale well told in two hours', an enthralling story packed with surprising incidents and full of vivid lines which gave scope for declamatory display. Cuts made by a competent play-adaptor would make havoc of the poetry, reduce the length of speeches, omit similes, over-elaborate comparisons, classical allusions, over-worked metaphors, displays of learning, too much play on words, and most of the poetical ornament. He would agree with the player's words in *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl*:

I hope you have made no dark sentence in't; for, I'll assure you, our audience commonly are very simple, idle-headed people and if they should hear what they understand not, they would quite forsake our house.¹

An acting version might prune the poetry but would be a better-acting play. Let us not forget that Shakespeare wrote for the Elizabethan theatre, and not for the reader or the modern student; he wrote as an artist what his partners turned into a play.

Who had charge of rehearsals? We have but little evidence and a critic may build his house of cards or castle in Spain at his pleasure. Perhaps the earliest reference occurs in *Cynthia's Revels*, acted at Blackfriars in 1600 by the Children of Her Majesty's Revels. Ben Jonson used his induction very much as our Bernard Shaw his preface, to satirize audience, actors, dramatists and the rest of the world, and to blow his own trumpet. His allusion to rehearsals runs (the Children are on the stage):

3 *Child*. I would speak with your author: where is he?

2 *Child*. Not this way, I assure you, Sir; we are not so officiously befriended by him, as to have his presence in the tiring-house, to prompt us aloud, stamp at the book-holder, swear for our properties, curse the poor tireman, rail the music out of tune, and sweat for every venial trespass we commit, as some author would, if he had such fine engles as we. Well, 'tis but our hard fortune.

Jonson, it is evident, is sneering at some dramatist, perhaps Marston, who had been permitted concessions refused to himself, and suggests that

¹ Dodsley's *Old Plays* (1780), vi, 386.

when an author was producing a play, bad temper, worse language, chaos and confusion galore reigned behind the scenes. It must be remembered that the actors were small boys such as Shakespeare refers to in *Hamlet*, and that one or two authors who were not actors may have had a share in this enterprise. Apparently these amateurs found stage management and rehearsals very troublesome. Jonson certainly did not direct the rehearsals of his own plays at the theatres which the adult actors controlled. Had this been his privilege as a playwright, he would have made the air ring with his complaints if he had been deprived of it. Dekker in *Satiro-mastix* says of him, that when his 'Comedies and Enterludes have entred their Actions' he made 'vile and bad faces at everie line. . . to make the Players afraide to take their parts'. Another reference occurs in *Bartholomew Fair* (acted 1614), from which it would appear that he was allowed behind the scenes on the occasion of the first representation. He was then at the height of his favour with King James, and as the play was to be produced at Court the next night, he may have been present at the invitation of the company to assist the actors in making it agreeable to the royal taste.

From a German writer, Johannes Rhenanus, comes some evidence of about the same date. He translated *Lingua* into German, and in his preface writes:

So far as actors are concerned they, as I noticed in England, are daily instructed, as it were in a school, so that even the most eminent actors have to allow themselves to be instructed by the Dramatists, which arrangement gives life and ornament to a well-written play, so that it is no wonder that the English players (I speak of skilled ones) surpass and have the advantage of others.¹

He may have seen a revival of *Lingua*, which is a University play and would be acted by the students of Trinity College, Cambridge; the author was Thomas Tomkis who acted as producer and coached the students in their parts. Possibly Rhenanus, who was in London during 1611, may have been present when a dramatist read his play to the company and explained to the actors his intentions. Perhaps some waggish actor may have 'gulled' him or, as we say, 'pulled the German's leg'. I decline to believe that Chettle or Munday ever tried to 'instruct' famous Ned Alleyn how to declaim a passage. Certainly Wilkins or Tourneur would have put on running-shoes and got close to the door before he began to 'instruct' hot-tempered heavy-handed Dick Burbage in the art of acting. When he roared out a robustious 'Go to' they would not have stood upon the order of their going.

¹ See Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany* (1865), Preface. I cannot remember the source of the above translation.

Everything that we know of the conditions under which dramatists wrote their plays makes it hard to believe that they supervised rehearsals. Modern practice and conditions are entirely different; the actor is now an employee and has sunk in the scale, the theatre-owner and the author have the upper hand. Elizabethan dramatists assumed that actors knew their business and outside of necessary entrances and exits rarely wrote more than thirty lines of stage directions. In such modern plays as *Old English* or *Quality Street* more than a quarter of the printed play consists of descriptions of rooms, their doors, windows and furniture, the dress, personal appearance, occupation and life history of the characters before they come on the stage; the actors are instructed how to dress, stand, walk, look, act, speak, sigh, laugh or even breathe. Present-day authors treat them and their readers as robots, creatures a shade higher in mentality than performing dogs. Thus the whirligig of time brings in his revenges; the once proud actor must now scramble for the crumbs that fall from the rich author's table.

Another factor, the collaboration of authors, must be taken into account. Henslowe's diary shows that, if we omit from the reckoning those plays for which the number of payees is unstated, sixty-eight of the total of 143 plays were one-man plays, forty-three two-men plays and each of thirty-two others had three or more contributors. Does any one seriously suggest that each of two, three, four or even five collaborators attended the rehearsal of a play every morning for a week without pay? Henslowe records payment for almost everything that a theatre needs, but no dramatist received a penny for attendance at rehearsals. Still another objection may be suggested. Johnson's famous couplet,

Now see what ills the scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the patron and the jail,

is really far truer of the Elizabethan era than of his own. Jonson, Dekker, Chettle, Haughton and others knew the inside of the Counter, the Clink and the Marshalsea, and had lived on the scraps left by the charitable in the prison baskets. Can we suppose that Burbage, Condell, Heminge, Lowen, Shakespeare and others went to the Clink for rehearsals because the author of the play was in enforced residence there? To conclude, I do not think an author attended rehearsals except as a friend of the actors; he usually was present at the first representation, but for his friends the free list was entirely suspended.

Henslowe gives us some information relative to the purchase of costumes and properties. He financed the Admiral's men, and when the erection of the Fortune left the Rose on his hands, he leased it to Wor-

cester's men and became their banker. He records payment for plays, additions to and 'mending' of plays, prologues and epilogues, costumes, properties, play-licences and the prison charges and debts of insolvent dramatists. Each of these two companies had among its partners an actor-dramatist. Samuel Rowley was a partner in the Admiral's company before 1600, and during 1601 he acted on behalf of the company as paymaster to some of the dramatists; when his play *Judas*, of which he had written half only, was to be staged, two other actors bought material for costumes. For his lost play *Joshua* no new properties or costumes were bought; all that was necessary was provided from the company's stocks.

Heywood was an actor-dramatist, but was a hired man only of the Admiral's company; perhaps this accounts for his receiving £1 less for a play than other dramatists. He left this company and became a partner in Worcester's company; during the period from August 1602 to March 1603 he received the money paid for his plays directly from Henslowe, but did not buy costumes or properties for his own or others' plays. Careful study of Henslowe's entries over five years reveals that one or two partners did most of the company's business with the outside world; an actor-dramatist seems to have been serviceable chiefly in arranging for plays to be written by certain other authors. He received the standard minimum price for his own plays, but did not buy costumes or properties for them.

My conclusion is that a non-acting author did not attend rehearsals, and it is most improbable that he would be permitted to interfere with the production of any play which he had sold outright. Jonson did supervise the production of his own masques, but the maskers were persons of high rank ignorant of acting, and would require instruction how to speak and play their parts.

From 1594 to 1625 the King's men enjoyed continuous prosperity except in plague-years; such prosperity meant good management. Probably the stage manager, play-adapter and producer were permanent officials relieved of acting wholly or in part; possibly one man did all this work. If an actor-dramatist was the company's producer, he would most likely produce his own plays; if, however, he was not a dramatist, why should he stand down to gratify the vanity of a member of the company who was anxious to stage his own play? I suggest that Hamlet's famous speech on acting tells very strongly against the opinion that Shakespeare supervised the rehearsals of all the plays produced by his company. Even if the actors so trenchantly criticized had left the company recently, the poet's criticism could not have been intended for the Chamberlain's men.

If he himself was in charge of rehearsals he was publicly confessing his own incompetence and the bad habits of his fellows; if another partner, Heminge for example, was the producer, Shakespeare was informing the public that Heminge was a failure and some of his friends bad actors. If Shakespeare was producer and was attacking the Admiral's men, as Professor Dover Wilson thinks, he was guilty of bad taste and of provoking a quarrel. At this time the poetomachia or war of the poets was at its height, and this attack might develop into a mimomachia or war of the actors. But if Shakespeare was not the producer and was merely attacking methods of declamation and the gagging prevalent among comedians, no one would complain because none would admit such faults. Hamlet's advice fits admirably into the plot of the play, and being addressed by a patron to the actors he has hired, is dramatically suitable. Nor do I believe that Ned Alleyn, so much be-Rosciused and bepraised by Nashe, Weever, Dekker, Heywood, Jonson, etc., stood for the caricature described by Shakespeare as one of the Players that

...neither having the accent of Christians, nor the gate of Christian, Pagan, or Norman, have so strutted and bellowed, that I have thought some of Natures Iouernemen had made men, and not made them well, they imitated Humanity so abominably.

Professional pride and self-interest alike would urge the actors to insist on their prescriptive right of doing as they pleased with the plays for which they paid. Good actors of mature experience are usually better judges of the acting value of a play than the author; they know how much of it is worth acting, how it can be most effectively acted and staged, and what money they can afford to spend on production. Shakespeare's fellows might strike out two, five or even twelve hundred lines of a play, first because it was too long, and next, because the play would be better without them on the stage. Only five of Shakespeare's thirty-seven plays could be acted in the normal two hours allotted for representation; if he complained that his purple passages were excised, they could retort that those purple passages were best which filled the theatre and helped him to buy New Place.

After my wanderings in the semi-twilight of half-truth and conjecture, I must admit that my path has been but fitfully illuminated by transient beams from the diffused light given by a few semi-related facts. Critics may variously interpret the small amount of evidence, but unless these facts are to be subordinated to guesses and dogmatic assertion, there is no definite answer possible to the question, Did Shakespeare produce his own plays? I believe that in the balance of probability the beam will tip towards the answer, No.

ALFRED HART.

THE 'AUTOBIOGRAPHY' OF EDWARD, FIRST LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY: THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

THE *Autobiography* of Herbert of Cherbury (1582–1648), now a classic, has always, since its first publication in 1764 by Horace Walpole, attracted considerable attention. It covers the first half of the author's life, up to 1624; but it was written by Herbert in his old age, sometime between 1642 and 1648. When, over a century later, it was first published it became, in Walpole's words, 'the thing most in fashion', and people were 'mad after it'. This interest in it arose partly from its unexpectedness. In the middle of the eighteenth century Lord Herbert was known as the scholarly, if somewhat obscure, philosopher who had developed in his *De Veritate* a highly original metaphysic. He was famed for his insistence on the claims of reason in theology and was named 'the father of the Deists'. John Locke in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* had drawn attention to Herbert's formulation of the doctrine of innate ideas. The eighteenth century had no reason to suspect that he was anything other than the highly respectable philosopher he appeared to be. Suddenly, with the publication of the autobiography, the man stood revealed—not as the wise thinker who spent his time in ordered meditation, but as a vain and foolish person, quixotic enough, however, to be lovable in his folly. On his own confession he was revealed as a gallant and a swashbuckler; and the cultured circle of Walpole's friends found the revelation slightly scandalous and yet highly entertaining.

That this was so becomes clear from a perusal of the references to the book in Walpole's letters. In publishing the work Walpole added an 'advertisement', introducing the author to the reader, and this was written in a deliberately subdued manner. The book appeared for private circulation only, and was privately printed by Walpole at Strawberry Hill.¹ It was published with the express consent of the Earl of Powis. So Walpole had to measure his words carefully. In fact, he writes with his tongue in his cheek. He was writing of an English nobleman whose

¹ *The Life of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (pp. x + 172). Walpole was given permission to print two hundred copies, one hundred of which alone were to belong to him. The other hundred apparently went to the Earl of Powis to distribute amongst his friends. The copy in the National Library of Wales has on its title page 'Eliz. Bateman, Given me by Lady Powis. March 4th, 1765.'

descendants were alive and it was with their consent that the work was being printed. And all he permits himself to say is:

This life of a philosopher is neither a deduction of his opinions nor a table of philosophy—I will anticipate the reader's surprise, though it shall be but in a word: to his astonishment he will find that the History of Don Quixote was the Life of Plato.

In his letters, however, Walpole writes more freely, and I may quote one of them which makes clear his true opinion of the work. In writing to George Montagu (16 July 1764) he remarks:

I want to send you something from the Strawberry Press...nothing less than the most curious book that ever yet set its foot in the world...It is the *Life* of the great philosopher, Lord Herbert, written by himself. Now you are disappointed—well, read it—not the first forty pages of which you will be sick I will not anticipate it—but I will tell you the history. I found it a year ago at Lady Hertford's, to whom Lady Powis had lent it. I took it up, and soon threw it down again, as the dullest thing I ever saw. She persuaded me to take it home. My Lady Waldegrave was here in all her grief—Gray and I read it to amuse her—we could not get on for laughing and screaming. I begged to have it to print—Lord Powis, sensible of the extravagance, refused. I insisted—he persisted. I told my Lady Hertford, it was no matter, I would print it, I was determined. I sat down and wrote a flattering dedication to Lord Powis, which I knew he would swallow: he did, and gave up his ancestor. But this was not enough. I was resolved the world should not think I admired it seriously (though there are really fine passages in it, and good sense too)—I drew up an equivocal preface, in which you will discover my opinion, and sent it with the dedication. The Earl gulped down the one under the palliative of the other—and here you will have all.

For Walpole the *Life* was good entertainment. It had its own intrinsic merits; but it was primarily the unconscious humour of the author which caused Walpole and Gray and the recently bereaved Lady Waldegrave to laugh so unrestrainedly. That the new Don Quixote should turn out to be none other than the learned, if ponderous, sage of Cherbury made the joke all the richer.

To-day the *Autobiography* is certainly still amusing and entertaining; but the laughter of Walpole and his age now sounds a little shallow. The best edition of the work is undoubtedly that of Sir Sidney Lee (1886), and what Lee shows in his masterly introduction is that Herbert's life and character are highly significant. We may laugh at his foibles and extravagances, but we miss the more important point if we look no further. To us—and even more to the stabilized, rationalist eighteenth century—Herbert appears to be a very queer mixture of wisdom and folly, of philosopher and buffoon. His is a Jekyll and Hyde personality. But the fact is that present in him were not two distinct personalities at conflict within one soul, but one full personality as it was moulded so strangely by that age of transition from the Action of the sixteenth century to the Reason of the eighteenth, the transition from the Renaissance (if not from the Medieval Age) to the Modern Age. Herbert

is not a mere figure of fun; he is an embodiment of a period of change. This was Lee's view and it was also that of a later editor, C. H. Herford, who in his introduction to the beautiful Gregynog edition (1928) seeks to explain in similar terms the enigmatic character of

this Jacobean man of fashion, who may be called with equal plausibility the last of the knights errant and the first of the deists, in whom the fantastic extravagances of mediaeval chivalry seem to join hands with the prosaic reason of the eighteenth century (p. vii).

When, however, we have fully recognized the importance of Lee's contribution to our understanding of Herbert's *Autobiography*, it still remains to be said that the supreme value of the document before us lies neither in its faintly scandalous character nor in its unconscious humour, nor finally in its historical significance. It is surely its excellence as autobiography which gives it its greatest worth. It is one of the earliest of autobiographies in the English language, and its successors in what has now become a highly fashionable form of writing are legion. Yet few of them can compare with it in vividness, richness of colour and in successful self-revelation. It is not always truthful in its detail (few autobiographies are), but it is certainly truthful in its revelation. It is eminently successful in the primary purpose of autobiography. There is thus more than sufficient reason for the attention which continues to be paid to it.

In this article I am more particularly concerned with the extant original manuscripts of the *Autobiography*. It will no doubt come as a surprise to those who have worked in this field and who are acquainted with recent editions, particularly Lee's, to hear that there still exists manuscript material. Sir Sidney Lee, both in his 1886 edition of the *Autobiography* and again in his *D.N.B.* article on Herbert, stated that after diligent search he was unable to find any such material; and later editors have apparently assumed without further question that no manuscripts exist. In his preface to his edition of the *Autobiography* Lee explains: 'I greatly regret that I have been unable to consult the original manuscript, but my search for it has proved unavailing' (p. vi). And he adds a further note at the end of his introduction to the effect that nothing has been known of the manuscript since Walpole's days and that his own enquiries at Powis Castle proved fruitless. In the *D.N.B.* article he remarks: 'No manuscript is now known to be extant.' W. Dircks in the Camelot edition (1888) and C. H. Herford in the Gregynog (1928) have followed Lee. And this now seems to be the generally accepted position.

In fact, however, two manuscript drafts of the *Autobiography* exist, both in the possession of the Earl of Powis. The first is a fair copy, written out carefully in an excellent hand and well bound. At the moment of writing (December 1940) this manuscript has been removed from Powis Castle for safe keeping for the duration of the war, and I have not seen it. But it has been described to me, and from the description and an examination of the other manuscript which remains at Powis I have no doubt that it is the later draft of the two. For convenience' sake I shall henceforward call it Draft B to distinguish it from the other draft which I may name Draft A. The latter—the more interesting and, I think, the more important of the two—is not a fair copy, it contains many corrections and appears to be Herbert's first draft. I also think it is in Herbert's hand, and if this is the case Draft B is not in his hand since I am informed by the Earl of Powis, who has compared the two MSS., that the handwriting appears to be different.¹ My grounds for supposing that Draft A is in Herbert's own hand are these: In the first place, the hand is very like that of some other MS. material attributed to him, and, secondly—a safer guide—the corrections, of which there are many, are made in the same hand as the original. Now even if someone other than Herbert had written Draft A it is highly probable that the corrections would be in his own hand. And since these are in the same hand as the original I conclude that the whole is in Herbert's hand. Unfortunately, this MS. is incomplete; a dozen pages at the beginning and about the same number at the end are missing, together with some thirty-six pages inside the manuscript. P. 13 of the MS. begins at p. 24, l. 15 of Lee's first (1886) edition. The missing pages within the MS. are 29–33, 73–84, 101–4, and 121–36 (Lee, pp. 51–6, 105–25, 146–52 and 175–200 respectively). The MS. concludes on p. 144, i.e. p. 214, l. 8 of Sir Sidney Lee's edition. The remaining pages, though badly worn at the edges, have otherwise suffered little. They are never torn and the handwriting is easy to decipher.

Was there ever a third draft of the *Autobiography*? Lee in the *D.N.B.* article says two manuscript copies of the *Autobiography* were made 'after his (Herbert's) death', and this would give us three drafts at least. But he does not give his evidence for this view and I can find none. Our main source of evidence about the manuscripts is a paragraph in Walpole's advertisement purporting to give their history, and he does not say there that two copies were made after Herbert's death, though he does mention two drafts. I presume, therefore, that Lee is mistaken on this point.

¹ Herbert, however, wrote in more than one hand, as is clear from a comparison of the first and last pages of Draft A. So the two drafts *may* be in his writing.

When, however, we turn to this paragraph of Walpole's we cannot identify outright the two drafts mentioned with Drafts A and B, the drafts at present extant. According to Walpole the manuscript material was in 'great danger of being lost. The original MS. was preserved at Lymore (a house built by one of the Herberts of Cherbury about 1666 near the site of Montgomery Castle, which had been the home of the first Lord Herbert and which had been demolished by order of Parliament). The manuscript was known to be there at the opening of the eighteenth century, but it could not be found in 1714. 'Some years afterwards it was discovered at Lymore among some old papers, in very bad condition, several leaves being torn out and others stained to such a degree as to make it scarce legible.' In these circumstances search was made for a copy of the original, which copy was known to exist, and thus was ultimately found in 1737, 'which not only by the contents (as far as it was possible to collate it with the original) but by the similitude of the writing appeared to be the duplicate so much sought after'. This was the copy which Walpole used in publishing the work.

Now if we are to take Walpole's description of the original manuscript as correct in all its details we may find it difficult to identify this manuscript with Draft A. For, in the first place, Draft A cannot be said to be in a 'very bad condition'; its pages are not 'stained to such a degree as to make it scarce legible'. They are quite easily read once the hand is mastered. In the second place, the handwriting of Drafts A and B, it appears, is not similar. If, therefore, we accept Walpole's evidence as sound we must conclude that there existed at one time at least three drafts. The copy which he himself used might possibly be our present Draft B, but his 'original' manuscript is not Draft A. Nevertheless, I doubt whether we are bound to accept the description of the original manuscript as correct in every particular. It will be noted that Walpole never claims to have seen it himself, so that he is describing it at second hand. It would be quite sound to say of Draft A that some pages of it are missing and that it is not in as good a state of preservation as is Draft B. And perhaps this was all the information which Walpole meant to convey. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the discrepancies in this case can be ignored, and that we may on the whole conclude that the two drafts Walpole mentions are in fact Drafts A and B and that, so far as our present evidence goes, no other drafts have ever existed. In that case all the manuscript materials of the *Autobiography* are still extant.

I shall now recount the history of these manuscripts so far as it is known. Our main source of information up to 1764 is Walpole's account,

and I propose to take it as true that Walpole's two drafts are in fact Drafts A and B.

In Edward Herbert's will is to be found the following clause: 'And whereas I have begun a manifest of my action in these late troubles, but am prevented in the review thereof, I do hereby leave it to a person, whom I shall by word instruct, to finish the same, and to publish it to the world by my direction, and as having the express charge laid upon him by me for doing it.' Lee thinks this refers to the *Autobiography*, although since the latter only covers the life up to 1624 it does not exactly fit the description of 'a manifest of my action in these late troubles'. Yet the autobiography was left in an unfinished state. We do not know whether anyone was ever instructed to complete the book. Probably it would have been Herbert's favourite grandson, Edward Herbert, but it is clear that if he did receive the instruction he did not fulfil the task. It was to him, however, that the bulk of Lord Herbert's papers was left.

This Edward Herbert became the third Lord Herbert, and we may suppose that Draft A, having been bequeathed to him, on his death became the property of the fourth Lord, Henry Herbert. The latter died without issue in 1691 and left his property to his nephew Francis of Oakley Park, Shropshire (whose son was Henry Arthur Herbert, created First Earl of Powis in 1748). Sidney Lee found a reference to Draft A in Oldys's diary, according to which it was lent to the Earl of Clarendon in July 1696. After Henry Herbert's death his widow lived at Lymore and Draft A was known to be there in her lifetime, but in 1714 when she died it could no longer be found. Some years later it was rediscovered amongst some old papers in a bad condition with many of its pages missing. From this date onwards it seems to have been much neglected, the Powis family considering Draft B to be the more important MS., since it was complete and the one from which Walpole made his edition. For over a century apparently it completely disappeared. But about thirty years ago it was discovered once more in an old oak box at Powis Castle, possibly brought there from Lymore, a box which had not been opened, it was thought, for over a century, the last papers put into it being notes referring to events of 1810 or so. The box was opened by the late Lady Powis (Violet), and amongst other papers Draft A was found. The present Earl realized that it was a valuable document and sent it to the National Library of Wales to be doctored and bound. The National Library possesses a photostat facsimile of it, made at that date (MS. 9146E). Such is our information about Draft A.

Draft B, the fair copy, may or may not have been made in Herbert's lifetime. It is, as I propose to show, not merely copied but to some extent edited, and it would be interesting to know whether it was edited by Herbert himself or by someone else, but this cannot now be determined. It appears to have been in the possession of Sir Henry Herbert, the younger brother of the first Lord Herbert. Some of the latter's papers (though they appear to have been bequeathed to his grandson Edward) found their way into his brother's hands. (Such, for instance, is the case with Herbert MS. 5297 at the National Library of Wales.) Thus Draft B may have come from the papers bequeathed by Edward Herbert. On the other hand, it may have been a copy which Henry Herbert had had made for himself and which Edward never saw. Henry Herbert's son became the first Lord of Cherbury (of the second creation) and his grandson, another Henry Herbert, was the second Lord of Cherbury (of the second creation). The latter died without issue in 1738. Now throughout these years, it would appear, Draft B remained in the possession of this family; although when enquiry was made for it in 1714 or thereabouts 'no one', according to Walpole, 'could recollect what was become of it'. I find the rest of Walpole's story none too clear:

At last, about the year 1737, the book [presumably, the bound MS.] was sent to the Earl of Powis by a gentleman whose father had purchased an estate of Henry Herbert of Ribbissford, son of Sir Henry Herbert above-mentioned in whom was revived in 1694 the title of Cherbury, which had extinguished in 1691. By him (after the sale of the estate) some few books, pictures and other things were left in the house, and remained there to 1737. This MS. was amongst them.

Walpole is obviously none too sure of the precise details. Is it not possible that Draft B remained in the hands of these Herberts of Ribbissford until the death of Henry Herbert in 1738, that it was then discovered by the gentleman who had bought the estate and the house and returned to the person whom he thought most likely to be interested, namely Henry Arthur Herbert, who was to become the first Earl of Powis? Whatever we make of this suggestion, we know that the draft did find its way to Powis Castle and that Lady Powis in or about 1763 lent it to Lady Hertford, at whose house Walpole first saw it. From 1764 to 1891 the whereabouts of the MS. are unknown. Was it returned to Powis Castle by Walpole? If it was, how did it come about that when Sir Sidney Lee enquired for it in 1885 or so, the late Lord Powis knew nothing of it? And yet in 1891 when the present Earl succeeded to the title he found Draft B at Powis Castle. Did it return there between 1886 and 1891, or was it there all the time? The MS. remained at Powis Castle until the present war broke out, when it was removed to a safer place.

Twenty years after the appearance of the first edition of Lee's work a second edition became necessary. Lee re-edited it, but on this occasion neglected to enquire at Powis Castle about the MS. This was a pity; he would certainly have discovered Draft B there. But the more helpful document, as I have said, is Draft A, and if he had found this he would have been compelled to add a good deal to his new edition. Draft A is fragmentary, and we cannot now know whether the missing pages corresponded or not to those of Draft B and the published editions. But the pages which remain to us give us two passages not to be found in the published editions, and I propose to add these in an appendix to this article. The first is an account of Herbert's views on religion and covers pp. 43-6 of the MS. It should appear immediately after Lee (first edition), p. 68, l. 17. The passage may possibly have been omitted because Herbert's views on religion had been stated by him more fully elsewhere. The second was discovered by the Earl of Powis in comparing Drafts A and B. It is an interesting story which may be of some slight historical value for students of the period, and it is difficult to see why it should have been omitted from Draft B. It covers pp. 58-60 of the MS. and should appear after p. 87, l. 6 of Lee's first edition.

Another curious discrepancy is that the Latin poem *Vita* as set out in Draft A (p. 16) is much shorter than it is in the published editions, while the second poem, *De Vita Celesti Conjectura*, in the published editions does not appear at all in Draft A. These two poems, however, were included at the end of Herbert's book, *De Causis Errorum* (1645), though the first is slightly different both from the published version of the *Autobiography* and from that of Draft A. This suggests to me that the copy of Draft A which Walpole used was edited by a person (other than Edward Herbert) who was acquainted with the *De Causis Errorum* and who thought to improve upon Draft A by adding to it the *De Vita Celesti Conjectura* of the *De Causis* and by slightly changing the *Vita*. Edward Herbert himself might be responsible for the change, but the other alternative seems more plausible. Is this editor also responsible for the omission of the two passages published in the appendix? (Incidentally, since the poem *Vita* in the *De Causis* is obviously later than that in Draft A, the latter must have been written well before 1645, which helps us to date it more precisely. I think 1642-3 is the likely date.) In comparing Draft A with the published edition I noted also many alterations in wording (where the sense was not greatly changed); and of course the spelling, paragraphing and punctuation are different throughout. These differences are too many and too minute to be mentioned here, but no doubt any one

who edits the *Autobiography* again will find it necessary to take due note of them.

With the kind permission of the Earl of Powis I have had p. 59 of Draft A photographed.¹ It will be seen that it is part of the story in connection with the Gunpowder Plot printed in the appendix. I am much obliged to the Earl for this and many other kindnesses in connexion with this article, and I also thank the Librarian and Staff of the National Library of Wales for their ready help.

APPENDIX

THE UNPUBLISHED PAGES OF DRAFT A OF THE '*AUTOBIOGRAPHY*'

MS. Pp. 43-6.

Concerning Religion I thought it my best Course to begin upon the most certaine and infallible principles I could finde and from thence to proceede unto the rest. Having therefore considered whether in all the Religions I could meet with ancient or moderne there were any Pointes or Articles soe universally taught that they were not questioned or doubted of in any other Religion, I observed these five onely to bee Catholique and Universall. 1. That there is one supreme God. 2. That he is to bee worshipped. 3. That Vertue and Piety joyned with Faith in and Love of God are the best ways to serve and worship him. 4. That we ought to Repent us of our sinnes and seriously to returne to God and the Right way. 5. That there is reward and punishment both in this life and after it. Having established these Foundations in my selfe I inquired concerning the Pointes or Articles added unto them. And as here I found many things urged which did depend meerely upon the Credit and Authority of certaine Churches which did not sufficiently agree and Cohere among themselves I found that either I must study Contraversies in all Languages, Countreyes and Times which were an Infinite and miserable Labour, or otherwise that I must insist cheifly upon these five Catholique pointes as the most knowne and generally confessed means of coming to God. I did not doubt yet but God in his Mercy might and did in severall Ages and Countreyes (by divers extraordinary wayes) manifest his wisdome power and goodness. To the Relacons whereof therefore I thought fitt to give a Reverend and pious beleife, howbeit as most of these Doctrines were with much Vehemency and Bitterness on all sides disputed I thought as before that it was an endless worke for

¹ See Frontispiece.

- mee or any other Laike to examine them according to all their parts, when yet it were our duty to inquire into such matters as were soe farre beyond our Reach and Capacity. Houlding my selfe therefore principally to these five Catholique Articles I did neverthelesse to my uttermost embrace and beleive all that the Church in which I was borne and brought up did uniformly teach sequestering and dismissing onely the Contraverted points to those who had either Will Leasure or means to study them sufficiently. Resolving yet that if any poyntes of Faith wheresoever taught were once inserted or inoculated into my five Catholique Poyntes as necessary parts or branches thereof to receive them with due credit and Assent but those especially which implied noe contradiction. To conclude I insisted cheifely upon my five Catholique Articles for these reasons. 1. That there was noe other open and manifest way declared to all mankinde whereby to establish Gods universall Providence which is his highest Attribute. Secondly, That I found nothing could bee added to them which could make a man Really more vertuous and good when the afforesaid five points were rightly explicated. 3. That though the Doctrines added thereunto were indeed comfortable and full of promise to those who believed them, yet that they were more Contraverted then that the Age of any man could unty and dissolve the Knottes and Intricacies in them, or indeede soe much as reade the severall Authors which had written concerning that Argument without which yet hee could not say hee had heard all partyes or was able to forme a sufficient Judgment upon them. 4thly That I found all Misteryes Sacraments and Revelations cheefely tende to the Establishment of these five Articles as being at least the principall end for which they were ordeyned. 5. That I thought that the doing some good deede speaking some good word or thinking some good thought were more necessary exercises of my life than that I should Intermitt them for any Consideration whatsoever. Upon these five poyntes therefore I insisted beleiving the rest either piously upon the Authority of the Church or at least doubting piously when proofes were not sufficiently made and confirmed unto mee. But herein as a Laike I intend onely to give the reasons of my beleife without prescribing rules to any other.

MS. Pp. 58-60.¹

In the third yeare of King James the Gunpowder Treason hapening Myselfe who was chosen Kt of the Shire for Meirionethshire as having resigned my pretence in Montgomeryshire to Sr William Herbert at his

¹ See Frontispiece.

entreaty did then Lodg in my Mothers house neare Charing Crosse. The night before this horrible Conspiracy was to bee acted I was two severall tymes warned in my sleepe not to goe to the Parliament that day which though I tooke but for dreaming fell out to bee an Admonition; For Sr Walter Cope coming the 5th. of November about six of the Clocke tould mee how the designe was discovered wishing mee not to goe out of my house untill Busineses were better settled. Some few days after the Lords of the Counsell sent for mee and because the Conspirators were now [upon the edge of] 'in a place in Staffordshire not far from' Shropshire, they sent mee downe with Commission to Leavy forces to suppress those who were in Armes ag^t his Maiesty, Being now ready to goe Sr Thomas Dutton offered his Company which I gladly accepted, Ryding Post thus wee came to Dudley in Staffordshire [neare the] 'not far from a' Place where the 'night before' Conspirators [by setting fire Casually] 'by the falling of a sparke of fire' vpon their Gunpowder had their faces burnt vpon which [their] 'a' notable mistake did happen, For Sr Thomas Dutton who had a fall by the way w^{ch} had durtied his face [he was] 'being' desirous to rest a while in the Inne to take the durt from his Clothes and to wash his face before [he] wee came to Prestwood where wee intended to Lodg that night, 'wee' Allighted thus at an Inne there 'where' The Maior wth 20 or 30 naylers well weapened cam in to vs And finding Sr Thomas Duttons face black on the one side imagined presently he was one of the Conspirators whom the Gunpowder had burnt, wherevpon also wthout informing himselfe further he justled Sr Thomas Dutton That hee almost threw him into the Fire. This Insolency made mee drawe my sword which Sr Thomas Dutton perceiuing stept to mee telling me in the Eare wee shall kill a dozen of them but wee should bee sure to bee killed our selues. Let me alone wth this fellow Sr Thomas Dutton then demanded why he justled him, he said, because he was a Traitor as might be seene by the marks in his face. Sr Th: Dutton replied Yo^w shall see this mark quickly washed of & therevpon calling for water made cleane his Face The Maior was not yet satisfiied therewith but [would needs] 'desired one' to examine mee while he examined Sr. Tho: Dutton. The question he made to Sr Tho: Dutton was whence he came. 'He said from London'. The question demanded of mee was whether we went I said to Staffordshire or Shropshire or wheresoever the Conspirators were, which a third person hearing said wee have caught them in Contrary Tales already. Att which when wee had well laught the Maior with his Company retyred and left us to pursue our Journey.

R. I. AARON.

ON LINGUISTIC EXPLANATION¹

At a time when the science of grammar is admittedly in the throes of a crisis,² when reformers of various kinds from the *dilettante* to the well informed and brilliant interpreter are at work, there exists the danger of losing any firm methodological orientation. There are so many possibilities of methodological thought!³ And many a scientific talent may be hampered by the fear of treading old-established paths in sterile imitation or of being unable to replace the old way of working by something really solid.

The time is past when the generation previous to ourselves went joyfully to work, confident in their power to build up a historical grammar based on psychology. After Vossler and Saussure we have to start afresh by an act of scepticism and recollection. It is the fate of our generation from which we cannot escape.

I

What is the present situation?

Before Saussure there existed mainly one kind of scientific grammar, namely historical grammar.⁴ Descriptive grammar was so mixed up with practical problems (grammar as a help in learning a language) that it was not based upon the solid ground of a well-established theoretical method.

After the publication of Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale*⁵ this state of affairs was fundamentally changed. More and more scholars dealt with problems of synchronistic linguistics,⁶ and although this science offers very different aspects, whether one looks at it through the eyes of M. Bally or M. Sechehayé, of M. Hjelmslev or M. Guillaume,⁷

¹ The fundamental ideas of the present article have been explained in a course of lectures on 'The Modern Approach to Romance Philology' delivered at Bedford College, University of London, November 1938.

² Alan H. Gardner, *The Theory of Speech and Language* (Oxford, 1932), p. 1.

³ The best survey of methodological questions in the field of Romance Linguistics is to be found in I. Iordan and J. Orr, *An Introduction to Romance Linguistics* (London, 1937).

⁴ Holger Pedersen, *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1931).

⁵ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* (publié par Ch. Bally et A. Sechehayé, Lausanne, Paris, 1916).

⁶ Saussure opposed the terms 'synchronistic' and 'diachronistic' in the same way as we speak of 'descriptive' grammar as different from 'historical' grammar. See p. 210 of the present article.

⁷ Ch. Bally, *Linguistique générale et linguistique française* (Paris, 1932); A. Sechehayé, 'L'école genevoise de linguistique générale', *Indogerm. Forsch.* XLV (1927), 217 ff.; id. *Essai sur la structure logique de la phrase* (Paris, 1926); Louis Hjelmslev, 'Principes de grammaire générale', *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historik-filologiske Meddelelser*, xvi, 1 (København, 1928); Gustave Guillaume, *Le problème de l'article et sa solution dans la langue française* (Paris, 1919); id. *Temps et verbe. Théorie des aspects, des modes et des temps* (Paris, 1929).

synchronistic linguistics has retained the fundamental attitude as defined in the *Cours de linguistique générale*.

Saussure wanted to raise the discipline of 'merely descriptive' grammar to the rank of a true science. But since then terms have been reversed to such an extent that sometimes only synchronistic grammar is believed to possess explanatory value, whereas historical linguistics is considered as being devoid of truly scientific value.

Therefore, what started as a mere reform is about to become a revolution.

Henri Frei writes in his *Grammaire des fautes*:¹

Chez les adeptes de la 'méthode historique', expliquer veut dire: découvrir le fait ou la série de faits antérieurs. On 'explique' le français *père* en disant qu'il vient du latin *pater*, on 'explique' un tour comme *pour l'amour de* en le faisant remonter au latin *per amorem* ou *pro amore*. C'est le sempiternel raisonnement du 'post hoc, ergo propter hoc'. Grâce à cette méthode, la linguistique historique a sur la linguistique statique l'avantage de prédire à coup sûr, et d'annoncer toujours les événements après qu'ils sont arrivés; cela fait que tout s'y sait assez bien, et ce n'est pas étonnant.

One readily feels that this statement does not do justice to historical explanation, but it is perhaps not quite so easy to say why, and to be a just arbiter between diachronistic and synchronistic linguistics. For we have to raise the question of the explanatory value of both methods, and this leads immediately to very general and far-reaching questions.

II

One of the aspects of historical linguistics has never become problematical: that of the external history of our languages. The fact that our Indo-European languages are different developments of one and the same primitive language, its ramifications through time and space, all this is of value for us in the same degree as knowledge about the origins of our race, of our creeds and so on. Its theoretical justification can only be attempted in a philosophy of history—and this is not our business here. Besides, for questions of this kind there can be no rivalry between diachronistic and synchronistic linguistics.

But in so far as a scientific justification of the *function* of language is concerned, a conflict between the two methods may arise, and it is this aspect alone that we are going to take into consideration.

It is impossible to criticize methods without having an accurate idea as to the nature of the problem in question. So if we wish to be arbiters

¹ Henri Frei, *La grammaire des fautes* (Paris, 1929).

between two linguistic methods we shall have to ask first of all: What is *the* linguistic problem? or, Why do we need a linguistic science?

Our answer is: Because in trying to analyse any language, we find a chaotic disorder of contradictory forms and usages and we cannot understand, without a great theoretical effort, how such an unreasonable system can be used intelligently for the purpose of communication.

The fact that we become aware of this puzzling lack of conformity between the structure of the linguistic instrument and its purpose, and the consequent feeling of theoretical dissatisfaction, constitute *the* linguistic problem, and create the need for a linguistic science.

We may reverse our terms and say: If the structure of our languages corresponded in a reasonable, understandable way to the purpose of speech, there would be no linguistic science.

Thus: (1) If to any linguistic symbol there corresponded one, and only one, unequivocal meaning, (2) if it functioned in speech always in accordance with that meaning, (3) if to similar meanings corresponded similar symbols, then no linguistic science would exist.

Now, these conditions are not found in any language and it is superfluous to prove this assertion by examples. Professor Bally is quite right in saying:

Dès qu'on essaie de démontrer la machine linguistique, on est plutôt effrayé du désordre qui y règne, et l'on se demande comment des rouages si enchevêtrés peuvent produire des mouvements concordants.¹

III

With regard to this state of affairs historical linguistics has adopted the following attitude:

The inconsequence which we can observe in the structure of languages, all this *désordre*, is the result of linguistic development. All that appears confused and problematical in a modern state of a language becomes clear and lucid in the light of its origin.²

In other words: By etymological research we can largely realize the rational ideal described above, where to one form corresponds only one meaning and where the function of such words can be logically derived from their meaning.

¹ Ch. Bally, *Ling. gén. et ling. fr.*, p. 9.

² It is interesting to observe that Plato in his *Cratylus* assumed an attitude very similar to our modern point of view. Indeed we can realize that the complete *ὁρθότης τῶν ὀνομάτων* would exist '*φύσει*' in our rationally constructed language, if only we added as a fourth condition that linguistic symbols give onomatopoeic pictures of the things they stand for. If Plato changes his mind in the second part of the dialogue, it is because he realized that the 'ideal' state of the language had been disorganized by tradition so that actually the *ὀνόματα* are coordinated to things '*νόμῳ*'. Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 76-109.

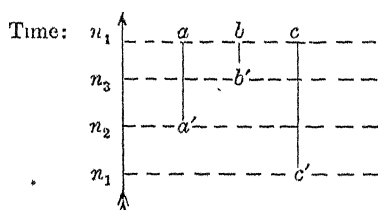
Once we have shown that this state of affairs, which is self-explanatory, has really existed, and once we know the causes which disorganized this ideal state, we shall have understood that the *désordre* necessarily exists, we shall know the reason which produced it, it will have been explained.

For a time it looked as if the hypothesis of historical linguistics, namely that the origins of our linguistic symbols reveal a more logical and harmonious order than would appear at a later stage of development, would find its full confirmation in the primitive Indo-European language.¹

To-day this conception has had to give way to more realistic views. To-day we know that this language in all probability never existed, that any 'primitive' language showed a similar state of disorder to that of any modern language.

Modern scholars have even maintained that advanced languages have the tendency to rationalize their grammar,² and we may consequently expect to find a logical linguistic organization in the future rather than in the past.

However, if this conception of the logically organized primitive Indo-European language was but a scientific dream, at least it was an intelligent one. For, as we hope to show, modern views are not likely to minimize the value of etymological research. We must only distinguish between a language as a whole and its elements such as words, prefixes, endings. It is not true that our Indo-European languages can be reduced as a whole to a kind of logical language, but it is true that each element of them was reasonably used as its origin. Only the origins of the different elements did not coincide in time; if we establish the origin of the symbols *a*, *b* and *c*, we get the following figure:



That is to say, each of these origins formed part of a state of a language which, as a whole, shows the same disorder as any modern language. The conception of an Indo-European primitive language of rational structure

¹ Holger Pedersen, *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 268.

² O. Jespersen, *Progress in Language. With Special Reference to English* (London, 1894); id. *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin* (London, New York, 1923), p. 326.

contains the error of having projected all etymological origins on to one time-level. We understand therefore, that etymological linguistics can only find the origin of linguistic elements, but not the origin of language.

But our diagram needs further explanation. If we say that the origin of a symbol a is to be found at a moment n_2 , we must explain what we understand by 'origin' and why we have to go back exactly to the moment n_2 and not to any other moment.

Furthermore, we shall have to show how a rational order of linguistic elements is compatible with a disorderly organization of the state of a language in which this element is found.

Only if we can give satisfactory answers to these questions can the explanatory value of etymological research be established.

This can best be done by analysing concrete examples of etymological explanation, where we shall have to observe how the problems are formulated, and how the answer is given.

The chaotic disorder in a modern state of a language reveals itself most strikingly if we find (1) that a language makes a very heterogeneous use of the same symbol, or (2) that symbols which apparently are not related to each other serve the same linguistic purpose.

(1) In modern French, for instance, we find that the same symbol *grève* has two different meanings: 'strand' and 'strike'.

Now etymological linguistics shows that there was a time when *grève* had only one meaning ('strand') and that the modern complexity of its meaning did not exist. That is to say, the ideal of 'one form—one meaning' has been fulfilled with regard to *grève*.

In a second procedure diachronistic linguistics will explain why this state of affairs was disorganized. Unemployed men gathered in a place in Paris which was called *Place de Grève* (cp. *The Strand* in London), and this particular gathering was called *faire Grève*; hence the sense of this expression denoted 'to be without work', first involuntarily and later voluntarily: 'to strike'. The last step in the semantic evolution was taken by the interpretation of *grève* as an abstract noun 'the strike'.¹

(2) In Latin we observe that generally the comparative and superlative of adjectives are formed from the same stem as the positive; type: *gravis*, *gravior*, *gravissimus*, except in certain cases, for instance *bonus*, *melior*, *optimus*. This inconsequence of the language can be explained historically.

The linguist finds that at an earlier state of the language *melior* and *optimus* were not the comparative and superlative of *bonus*, but inde-

¹ E. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris, 1863–72), s.v. *grève*.

pendent words, the series *bonus*, *melior*, *optimus* being comparable to French *bon*, *excellent*, *admirable*.¹

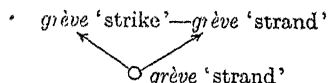
That is to say, corresponding with the difference of radical there was a difference of meaning; and so once again a rational order of the type 'one symbol—one meaning' can be reconstructed.

How has this self-explanatory state of affairs been altered?

Melior (like *excellent*) denotes the same idea as *bonus* (or *bon*); only it is emotionally stronger, and it does not require much imagination to understand how an emotionally stronger word can become a symbol for expressing a higher degree of what is meant by the emotionally weaker expression; this is what has happened to *melior*, which became a comparative of *bonus*; the adoption of *optimus* as a superlative has an identical explanation. If we understand this, the explanation of the irregular series *bonus*, *melior*, *optimus* is complete again.

One point of our methodological procedure calls for special attention. In the case of *grève*, as well as in the case of *bonus*, *melior*, *optimus*, we have solved relative problems rather than absolute ones.

That is to say, we cannot give an answer to the absolute question: Why do Frenchmen call 'the strike' *grève*? We must put the word *grève* 'strike' into relation with *grève* 'strand' in order to get a legitimate problem. Starting from these two points, i.e. *grève* 'strike' and *grève* 'strand', we follow the lines of their development back into the past up to the point where they coincide and mark this point as the etymological origin:

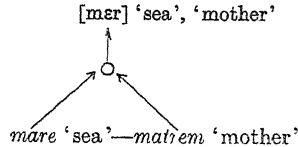


Had we only one line of development, that is to say, if we only asked an absolute question, the earlier type would always explain the later one, and we could go back into the past indefinitely until we abandoned the firm ground of literary tradition—perhaps reconstructions could lead us still further back—but we must inevitably reach the point where every trace is lost in the dust. That is to say, our whole explanation would be based on an unknown factor, our whole theoretical effort would be condemned to failure from the very beginning.

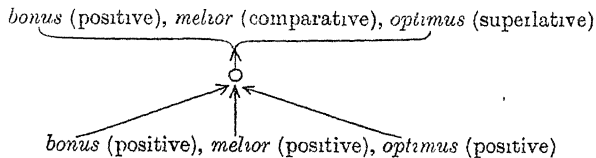
A variation of the problem *grève* is the problem [mcr] which again has two meanings: 'sea' and 'mother'.

¹ H. Osthoff, *Vom Suppletivwesen der Indogermanischen Sprachen* (Heidelberg, 1899), p. 20 f.

However, according to the different solution of this problem (the difference of meanings has once corresponded to a difference of forms), two lines of development emerge from the past and coincide in a certain point, which is the etymological origin of [mər] 'sea' and 'mother':

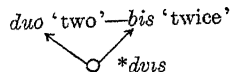


In the case of *bonus*, *melior*, *optimus* we ask again no absolute question, but compare the three stems with each other, asking why it is that the same stem does not prevail throughout the three words, as in *gravis*, *gravior*, *gravissimus*? In this case the etymological origin is found where one line of development is split up into three, because we explain, now, how the same stem-meaning has sprung from three different sources:



Here again the etymological origin is a relative one.

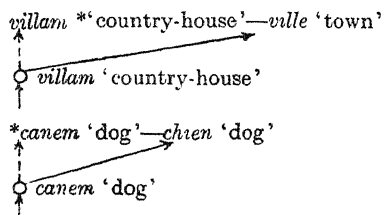
A variation of this problem is given in the case of Latin *duo* and *bis*, where the difference of forms is not to be explained by a difference of meanings as in the case of *bonus*, *melior*, *optimus*, but is to be derived from one identical form symbolizing that meaning:



Up till now we have been considering examples where the terms to be compared belonged to the same state of a language. Both *grève* 'strike' and *grève* 'strand' belong to modern French. Both *bonus*, *melior*, *optimus* and *gravis*, *gravior*, *gravissimus* belong to classical Latin.

But the same holds good if we compare expressions of different stages of a language. If we ask, for instance, why has *villam* 'country-house' changed its meaning to modern *ville* 'town'? or if we ask, why has *canem* 'dog' changed its form to modern *chien*? we need only to draw the corresponding diagrams in order to make it clear that the two questions:

Why do meanings or forms change? and Why have meanings or forms changed? are methodologically the same thing.



The only condition for comparisons of words from different stages of a language is that the lapse of time separating the terms to be compared must be sufficiently great to permit a noticeable difference of either forms or meanings to develop.

The procedure of historical (etymological) research can be summed up as follows:

We have two main forms of the same problem: disharmony between outer form and meaning:

(a) Why in a state of a language do we have corresponding to one meaning the symbol x as well as the symbol y ? (And vice versa: Why has a symbol x two or more meanings?)

(b) If at a given moment (n_1) a symbol x is found with a given meaning, why is the symbol y found instead with that same meaning at another moment (n_2)? (or: Why does the same symbol change its meaning?)¹

At the same time-level x will be the normal type: *gravior*; y the abnormal type: *melior*. At different time-levels x is the older form, y the younger, because the original form explains the younger one and not the reverse.

So Meillet was right when he proclaimed that, in a given language, diachronistic linguistics explains rather the abnormalities than the normal types.²

We are now able to elucidate the concept of origin. Only in very exceptional cases can origin mean 'creation'. Even onomatopoeic names represent phonematic types which already show development. Origin cannot generally have an absolute, but only a relative sense. It is not to be sought in the dust of prehistoric times, at least not necessarily, but can be found in the daylight of our documents.

¹ It will be easily understood that the case of a word which changes both its outer form and its meaning does not present a third form of the fundamental problem, but is only a complex variation of (b).

² Ch. Bally, *Ling. gén. et ling. fr.* p. 15.

Nor is the point in the past, to which we have to go back in order to find the origin, to be fixed arbitrarily. Its position is determined by the nature of the linguistic problem itself and therefore objectively fixed. Indeed, relativity of the etymological origin and its objective fixation in time are interdependent.

If we keep this in mind it will be easy to destroy a legend.

When, for instance, M. de Boer writes in his *Introduction à l'étude de la syntaxe du français*:¹

Il y a des gens qui ont l'air de croire que les Français et les Hollandais portent des pantalons *parce que* les Gaulois et les Bataves en portaient il y a vingt siècles.

He seems to indicate by this metaphor that historical linguistics puts questions of the type: 'Why do Frenchmen call a dog *chien*?' and answer: 'Because Romans called it *canem* 2000 years ago.'²

If this were the point of view of M. de Boer (and of M. Frei) he would be mistaken. This absolute question, of course, cannot be answered satisfactorily. But if we state the problems in terms of relativity by saying: 'Why do modern Frenchmen say *chien* instead of *canem*?' we see at once that this is a completely legitimate question of a type analysed above.

The question how there can be in the past state of a language a rational order with regard to linguistic elements, if it does not exist for the present state of the language, can also be answered. In any state of a language there are forms which, taken absolutely, conform to the logical ideal of one form—one meaning. Such a form is, for instance, *chien* 'dog'. It may naturally become a (relative) origin as a result of future development. Let us suppose that the formula *Quel chien de temps!* develops in such a way that it is no longer felt that this *chien* is the same as *chien* 'dog'; in this case we should have to go back to *chien* 'dog' and it would be (a).

The existence of words like *chien*, *cheval*, *maison*, etc. is compatible with the fact that there is not a rational order reigning throughout French grammar. Diachronistic linguistics does not assume more than that all linguistic elements were once such unequivocal words.

In conclusion: Diachronistic linguistics criticizes language from the point of view of a rational ideal which is self-explanatory. In a given language (considered in a state or in its development) one symbol has to

¹ C. de Boer, *Introduction à l'étude de la syntaxe du français. Principes et applications* (Paris, 1933), p. 10.

² I prefer this example to that put forward by M. Frei of *patrem*→*père*, because *père* is unequivocal only in writing (cp. *pair* and *paire*).

correspond to only one meaning, and the various possible functions of such words can be logically derived from that meaning.

This order can be (re-)established for linguistic elements by etymological research. The problem is always a relative one: *y* becomes problematical in comparison to *x*. Consequently the etymological origin is only a relative one too. But within the limits of this relativity the etymological procedure is sound and theoretically justifiable. It is therefore far from being based on the sophism *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*.

IV

Now, if the historical method is so excellent, why did the necessity ever arise for opposing to it the synchronistic method?

First of all, as we said above, synchronistic grammar is a kind of reform of historical grammar.

One mistake, which historical grammar has not always avoided, consists in attributing to modern forms a value which they had in the past. So it was taught that French constructed the future tense by adding *-ai*, *-as*, *-a*, etc. to the infinitive, whereas in reality this form has according to the different conjugations a normal stem and the endings of either *-erai*, *-eras*, *-era*, etc., or *-irai*, *-iras*, *-ira*, etc., or *-rai*, *-ras*, *-ra*, etc. The plural in French is said to be formed by adding an *-s* to the singular. In reality, however, the plural is marked either by a difference of endings such as *cheval*—*chevaux*, or the article [lɛ], or by an initial *s*: [zjø] 'eyes' (hence the popular verb *zyeuter*), or by two or three of these methods: [lɛ ʒvo] 'the horses', [lɛ zjø] 'the eyes', [lɛ zø] 'the eggs'.

One can easily understand that by this method of grammatical analysis a great progress can be achieved, and that our ideas about the structure of a language may consequently become quite different and more accurate than they have often been in the past.

We cannot deny that what can be reckoned the first methodological claim of synchronistic linguistics, namely 'Forget all you have learnt by the historical method, if you want to get an accurate idea about a language',¹ is to a large extent justified.

A second methodological claim is the positive completion of the first one. It can be formulated like this: 'Never try to explain isolated facts, but only facts in connexion with or in opposition to others.'

Let us take the expression *le casque en tête*.

¹ *Cours de ling. gén.*, p. 120; J. Vendryes, 'Sur les tâches de la linguistique statique', *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique*, xxx (1933), pp. 172-84.

- A method of isolation will produce an analysis like this: we have three factors (1) *le casque*; (2) *la tête* and (3) a relation between them. The logically correct expression for this relation would be *sur*. Historical grammar teaches us that *en* once had the meaning of *sur galea in capite*; hence *en* is nothing but an old remnant of this former state of the language, where the old value of *en* (= modern *sur*) has survived.¹

The synchronistic analysis is different. It first looks for other expressions in the same language with which *le casque en tête* is associated. It is found that there exists one expression *le casque sur la tête*, which is more or less synonymous with *le casque en tête*, and another one, *nu-tête*, forming a natural contrast to *le casque en tête*. It is found furthermore that *le casque en tête* is opposed to *le casque sur la tête* by the same features which it has in common with *nu-tête*, as the following considerations will show.

Le casque sur la tête is a statement as to the position of the helmet with regard to the head. Put your helmet for instance upside down, it still holds good that *le casque est sur la tête*. You could not say the same of *le casque en tête*, which denotes only that the helmet is worn as a head-dress, and this is only compatible with the normal position of the helmet. So *le casque sur la tête* describes a spatial relation between *casque* and *tête*, whereas *le casque en tête* gives a description of a person's appearance, in just the same way as *nu-tête*, which does not simply state that the head is 'nude', but that it is not covered by a headdress.

We may say that in *le casque en tête* the idea, that a helmet is on the head, has been, as it were, enveloped in the more abstract idea of 'mode of a person's appearance'. This more general idea welds the elements of *le casque* and *la tête* together in a closer way than could be done by *sur*.

This fact is reflected in the syntactical structure of the expression.

Whereas *le casque sur la tête* like Latin *galea in capite* is a free group, each part of which admits a determination (*le casque d'or sur la tête de Marius*; *galea aurea in capite Marii*), *le casque en tête* (like *nu-tête*) is a fixed group, which does not admit such modifications.²

We see that *en* in our instance is not simply an odd synonym of *sur*, but has a different function of its own, namely to suggest the idea of a person's appearance; it expresses the same fact, which in *nu-tête* is symbolized by the abnormal word-order and—in writing—the hyphen, and there is no other way in modern French of expressing this particular

¹ Ferd. Brunot, *La pensée et la langue* (Paris, 1922), p. 427.

² Ch. Bally in *Festschrift für Ernst Tappolet* (Basel, 1935), pp. 9–15, explains the difference between what he calls *syntagme libre* and *bloc agglutiné*.

aspect, and we find that *le casque en tête*, condemned as being illogical by a method of isolation, is clearer and more correct than the so-called 'logical expression' with *sur*. So that the second methodological claim of synchronistic linguistics is found to be sound too.¹

It is obvious how much historical research can benefit by constantly implying synchronistic views, by studying words (or any other linguistic elements) in their natural connexion with other elements of the same language.²

In our special instance the historical problem is not that of the etymology of *en*, but rather the struggle between *en* and *sur* (and their possible competitors). And the solution of this problem can be foreseen in its general lines. In the past an opposition between *le casque en tête* and *le casque sur la tête* did not exist; the type of *le casque en tête* was the only possible expression, because *en* once covered part of the semantic area which now belongs to *sur*. That is to say, in the old language the type of *le casque en tête* might have two meanings: that of a modern *le casque en tête* and that of a modern *le casque sur la tête*, according to the context or the situation in which the expression was employed. The difference of meaning to-day expressed by a grammatical difference (the fixed group *le casque en tête* functioning in opposition to the free group *le casque sur la tête*) was once an occasional one. It became manifest only in speech, whereas to-day it has become a difference of language.³

It has now to be shown that by mechanically using *le casque en tête* in the same situation, the expression became the symbol of the situation itself. The consequence was that it became impenetrable to the attacks of *sur*, which could beat *en* only in free combinations.

V

But not content with a useful reform of old-established methods some upholders of synchronistic linguistics would like to create a new method.

It is alleged that the historical method is bound to find a lack of harmony between forms and meanings and has no eye for their harmony. The whole diachronistic attitude prevents us actually from seeing how a language can function in conformity to sense at all. If it consists of

¹ Agglutination often alters the syntactical character of a group: *mourir en croix*, *portrait en pied*, *aller à cheval*, *aller en voiture*, etc. have passed from local adverbs to adverbs of manner; *comme il faut*, once a comparative clause, has become an equivalent of an adjective: *un habit comme il faut*.

² W. v. Wartburg, 'Das Ineinandergreifen von deskriptiver und historischer Sprachwissenschaft', *Ber. Verhandl. Sachs. Akad. d. Wissensch., phil.-hist. Kl.*, Bd. 83, 1. Heft (1931).

³ Alan H. Gardner, *The Theory of Speech and Language* (Oxford, 1931).

nothing but disorder, we cannot see the *raison d'être* of a language. This *raison d'être*, however, cannot be found in the past, for the very simple reason that the people who use a language do not know anything of its history, and yet it works! It functions even better than any logically constructed code of signs.

This important question, how can a language function in conformity to sense, cannot be answered by historical linguistics, therefore we need something quite different: synchronistic linguistics.

In other words, the disorder which the historical point of view reveals can only be apparent; behind this chaos is hidden a system of norms and values, which can only be discovered by synchronistic methods: and by the working of these the fundamental linguistic problem is again solved. Consequently, if we follow this line of thought to the end, we come to the conclusion that the fundamental problem of the science of linguistics has two different answers: a historical answer and a synchronistic one; the unity of our science appears to be broken off.

But if we look more closely at the facts we shall find a way out of this puzzle.

Let us come back to our example *le casque en tête*. There we saw that this *en* has a value which is of purely synchronistic nature, and only synchronistic analysis is able to discover this value.

Is the problem solved therefore?

It is partly solved—namely, in so far as synchronistic linguistics finds that there is a semantic difference to which corresponds a difference of symbols.

But it does not explain why in the case of *le casque en tête* we find the symbol *en*, whereas in *nu-tête* the same semantical nuance is symbolized in a different way; it does not explain how this special function of *en* is compatible with other functions of the same preposition.

This side of the problem can only be tackled historically.

In other words, for synchronistic linguistics the outer symbol of a specific semantic value is arbitrary. And that is what Saussure himself is at pains to explain again and again: in synchronistic linguistics the outer form has largely to be considered as arbitrary, that is to say as something synchronistic linguistics cannot explain.

This is a gap in linguistic explanation, and at this point historical research must be called upon.

Another example: The sentence *je le prends pour mon père* can either mean: 'I take it (sc. the book) for my father.' Or: 'I take him for my father.' The synchronistic explanation of this problem 'one form—two

meanings' is the following: In reality we have here two different combinations of words: namely, in the first case: *je le prends: pour mon père*; in the other instance: *je le prends pour: mon père*, and this analysis is completely correct. The difference of meanings is explained by a different grouping of symbols. But is that really the whole solution of the problem? Does it not remain a puzzle, as to why exactly the same outer symbols can stand for so different semantic values? And what other solution can be given than a historical one? For we shall need to admit that the statement, that outer symbols are 'arbitrary', is rather an excuse than a solution.

So we come to the conclusion (1) that etymological research greatly benefits from the implication of the synchronistic point of view; (2) that synchronistic explanation cannot cover the whole ground; the outer form remains 'arbitrary'.

VI

But there can be no doubt about our having to accept the legitimacy of both points of view. After the demonstration of what they are able to achieve and how they can work together, it remains to be shown that the nature of the linguistic object (i.e. language) requires the existence of both methods.

As we have seen, for synchronistic linguistics the outer form is in many cases deceiving and misleading, just because it is arbitrary, and Saussure himself has shown how difficult it is to discover the real units of a language, which do not necessarily coincide with what generally are called 'words'.

According to Professor Bally *en été, en automne, en hiver* and *au printemps* are not groups of words but simple adverbs like *hier* and *demain* whose morphemes (*en* and *au*) are suppletive.¹

And yet 'words' exist as units of outer identification. Anybody will recognize the same preposition *de* in *c'est de rigueur* and *il vient de Paris* although the semantic nature of *de* in both cases is completely different: in *de rigueur* the preposition could be called a *faux signifiant*² in contrast to the *signifiant réel* in *de Paris*. Other examples are: *je vais* in *je vais à la gare* and *je vais lui écrire*; Spanish *cosa* in *el libro es una cosa* and *creían que esto era cosa de coser y cantar*, etc. etc.

¹ Ch. Bally in *Festschrift für Ernst Tappolet*, where he polemizes against E. Lerch, 'Warum *en été (automne, hiver)*—aber *au printemps*?' *Hauptprobleme der französischen Sprache*, I (1930), pp. 235–62. E. Winkler in 'Aus dem Denksystem des Französischen', *Zeitschr. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.* LV (1931), pp. 430 ff. and *ibid.* LX (1937), pp. 430 ff., maintains a point of view different from either Bally's or Lerch's.

² Ch. Bally, *Ling. gén. et ling. fr.*, p. 121.

It may, therefore, be advisable to distinguish terminologically the outer unit (word, word-element) from a semantic unit. I propose to call the former 'name' and the latter 'sign' in a specific functional sense.

This distinction seems to be well founded. We often have a sign, where no name is present. If I shrug my shoulders, for instance, in order to indicate doubt and indifference, there is a sign, there is even a sentence,¹ but there is no name.

In other instances the same combination of names may represent two or more different signs. In German we distinguish *das kann ich gut machen* 'I could well do it' from *das kann ich gut machen* 'I can do it well' and from *das kann ich gutmachen* 'I can make up for it'.

A sign is the material support of an inner (semantic) unit; the one cannot exist without the other.

A name is identical with *image acoustique* (*Klangbild*); it may be a sign: *chien* is a sign for the unit 'dog'; but very often it is only an element of a sign.

And we may add that a name is always originally a sign, if we understand the term 'original' in the relative sense as explained above.

Between a sign and a semantic unit there can be no divergency: one exists only by virtue of the other. A sign can be identified only in so far as it is understood; its unity is to be derived from that of its meaning. One has to know the meaning of *aujourd'hui*, before one is able to define it as uncomposed, one has to know the meanings of *prendre pour*, before one is able to analyse its formal constitution.

And in so far as names have been at one time signs, their unity is to be derived from the same source. But once a name has come into existence it acquires a sort of independent life, it can be identified from without, by its phonematically signal marks.

As we see, the relations between names and inner units are not simple and direct. In extreme cases the same name belongs to different words (e.g. *grève*) or different names play the same semantic role (e.g. *bonus—melior*; *dormir—sommeil*).

To signs and names correspond two different methods of identification which can roughly be described as a mutual identification of signs and inner units and an outer identification of *images acoustiques* or names.

These two methods of identification overlap in so far as many names are signs, but partly they work on different lines. The impossibility of reducing them to one logical principle really explains why a language has such a disorderly organization. We are now able to describe the funda-

¹ Alan H. Gardiner, *The Theory of Speech and Language*, pp. 203-4.

mental linguistic problem which we have mentioned above (p. 197) in more precise terms: at bottom the linguistic problem arises from the fact that in the functioning of a language two principles of identification (that of signs and that of names) always work together.

It will, therefore, be appropriate to our linguistic object, if we place side by side two sciences of linguistics, or, better still, if we look at it always from two different points of view: the purely functional which explains nothing but the working of signs by reference to the conditions which alone are relevant to it, and a second one, which explains why certain names are used as signs or constitutive parts of signs.

The first point of view is by its nature unhistorical, for the history of a sign is irrelevant to its functioning; the second point of view is necessarily historical, in so far as the fact that we find a particular name with a given function can only be understood historically.

Therefore the sign is properly speaking the object of synchronistic linguistics.

'Sign' is a wider concept than 'name'; it includes any kind of signals, gestures, etc. The conditions for the working of signs are rather psychological than historical (i.e. they are more or less the same at any time): hence the principle of the *quid pro quo*, their formal (differential) character,¹ the psychical conditions of their existence such as memory and social contact. Therefore the science of signs is at the same time general linguistics.²

But all that belongs to the outer phonematic form must be accepted by synchronistic linguistics as a sort of fatality; only etymology can explain why a certain name in this particular phonematic form is found in certain semantic functions. Although diachronistic linguistics implies at every stage of its inquiry the general facts, its immediate object is names.

It is well known that Saussure based the existence of two linguistic methods on a difference of time: one method follows the course of time (diachronistic linguistics), the other studies its object on a certain time-level (synchronistic linguistics).

But it appears to me that this is not really the difference that matters.

First of all, what is this time-level?

Saussure himself compared it with a sort of *coupe transversale*.³ But this comparison is rather unfortunate. For if we were really able to make such a *coupe transversale*

¹ The idea of the differential character of a sign is at bottom identical with Bühler's famous *Prinzip der abstraktiven Relevanz* (K. Bühler, *Sprachtheorie. Die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache* (Jena, 1934), pp. 42 ff.). Only those features are 'relevant' for a sign, which are distinct from all other signs which constitute the system of a language.

² Therefore Saussure's book is called *Cours de linguistique générale* and Bally chose the title *Linguistique générale et linguistique française*.

³ *Cours de ling. gén.*, pp. 128 ff. Hermann Ammann, 'Kritische Würdigung einiger Hauptgedanken von F. Saussures "Grundfragen der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft"', *Indog. Forsch.* LII (1934), p. 269.

through all contemporary acts of speech, we should hardly get an appropriate idea of a language's working.

But this again is not Saussure's idea. According to his own words a time-level may comprehend a number of years, even of centuries, if necessary.¹ That makes it look as if a time-level would really be a historical epoch, that is to say something that forms part of history and can never be opposed to it. Who could ever speak reasonably about, say, the French Revolution, asking us to forget all we know about the *Ancien Régime*? Thus synchronistic as opposed to diachronistic is a misleading term.

A certain linguistic period, in which conditions are more or less stable, can be the object of study of both the synchronistic and the diachronistic scholar. Only their points of view are different. The interest of the one lies either in the explanation of 'irregularities' or in the observation of speech (style) as the possible origin of future developments; the other observes the linguistic material in order to reconstruct the fact 'language' at a certain epoch.

For these reasons the old terms of 'historical' and 'descriptive' linguistics are perhaps preferable, although they are vague. But this is rather a question of names and the terms synchronistic and diachronistic will do no harm if one connects the right idea with them.

It would be wrong to designate the linguistics of signs 'linguistics from within' and the linguistics of names that 'from without', although a sign is entirely dependent on the thing it stands for, and the name is to a large extent a signal mark which can be identified apart from its individual functions. But a linguistic problem is never one of contents or forms, but always of the co-ordination of contents and forms.

This is a matter of course for signs, because signs and their meanings are the same thing looked at from without and from within.

But names too are originally signs, and it is their specific problem that they can display other functions in a language. Here again one cannot separate them. If one did, one could not recognize any more names as such, but only noises or letters.

It is not superfluous to stress this point, because Saussure himself believed that historical linguistics is not concerned with meanings and might be treated as a science from without, that is as mere phonetics.²

He was obviously misled by the fact that historical phonetics, which is of vital importance for etymological research, had developed into an autonomous science, but he overlooked the fact that it was not identical with historical linguistics but was only an instrument of control in the hands of the scholar who has to identify different forms of the same name (cf. *canem* → *chien*). Without historical phonetics etymology would be at the mercy of pure luck and would be devoid of any demonstrative power. Phonetic laws had been abstracted from obvious cases such as *mare* → *mer* and applied to less obvious ones such as, for instance, *augurium* → *heur* (in *malheur*, *bonheur*) or Celtic *paraveredum* → German *Pferd*. But what really matters in etymological linguistics is not phono-

¹ *Cours de ling. gén.*, p. 146.

² *Cours de ling. gén.*, p. 200.

logical laws, but the relation between forms, meanings and functions, as we have seen above.

If it is true, as we think, that the linguistic problem is constituted by the fact that in any linguistic utterance two different identifications are involved: that of names and that of signs, we understand that a linguistic science must apply to its object two points of view which can best be described as the purely functional and the etymological.

As we have shown, it must be clear, however, that the science of etymology cannot be conceived without constantly implying the functional point of view. One might well say that historical linguistics has to investigate the relation between names and signs which are essentially complex and changing. It is, above all, the linguistics of words and word-elements, and as words are the element which distinguishes human speech from any other, we understand why historical linguistics has been considered for a long time as *the* science of linguistics.

But if historical linguistics necessarily implies functional linguistics, the contrary is not equally true. Therefore, if one wants to apply the functional point of view only, one is to a certain extent entitled to oppose it to etymological linguistics. But this can only be done by a sacrifice: semantemes and morphemes (in order to avoid the ambiguous terms of word and word-elements) must be considered as arbitrary, as things which—to a large extent—have to be ruled out.

It is doubtless of the greatest importance that functional linguistics should be cultivated and historical linguistics will be the first to benefit from this. But it ought not to lead to hostility towards historical linguistics. Both have the right to exist which is derived from the nature of the fundamental linguistic problem.

And we may be confident that once the dust raised by this polemic has settled down we shall have an open mind for the merits of both methods, and shall utilize them both in constructive work:

MANFRED SANDMANN.

GLASGOW..

BALZAC AND THACKERAY

THE similarities between the work of Balzac and Thackeray are so great that it is surprising that more attention has not been paid by critics to the question of possible influences. This is the more surprising in view of the fact that Thackeray is known to have spent a great deal of time in France and to have been well acquainted with contemporary French fiction. Of the books on Thackeray, only one, that by Saintsbury entitled *A Consideration of Thackeray*, has any mention of this influence. Saintsbury, indeed, has stray references to this influence in many places, but he never isolated the problem for discussion of an exhaustive kind. Two discussions of the subject have appeared in the form of periodical articles, one in the *Dublin University Magazine* of December 1864, and the other in the *Modern Language Review* of 1914.

In the 1864 article, entitled 'The Style of Balzac and Thackeray', the author observes that:

De Balzac, with his caustic wit, his polished style, his keen perception of character, amounting almost to an instinct, has not only elevated the tone of [French] romances, but has tinged, if not in great measure formed, the style of one of the greatest novelists of England—the late lamented author of *Vanity Fair*.

He goes on to note that Balzac and Thackeray, as young men, entered the Quartier Latin at about the same time, thus opening up the possibility of an actual meeting between the two. The similarities which he finds between the two authors are: (a) they both have the same idea of success—the necessity of pushing forward; (b) they have the same dislike of the mother-in-law: 'The "atrocious mother-in-law" of Balzac and "the campaigner" of Thackeray are alike in all their features, both continually throwing oil on the fire, and both invariably taking shelter behind the terrible "situation"'; (c) 'They have both given a most touching picture of the patience of woman under domestic tyranny'; (d) they have similar peculiarities of style and (e) they both maintain 'a connexion between the characters of all their works—a sort of family continuation'. In support of (d) passages from both writers are compared, and the article runs:

The marked peculiarities of Thackeray's style may be clearly traced in the passage of the French author. There is the same caustic vein of thought, suggesting the antithesis between the speedy punishment of open brutality and the impunity with which a victim may be crushed under a weight of moral brutality more ferocious, more fatal, but over which conventionality and refinement have thrown a veil, and of which justice takes no note; the same pointed personal form of sentence, as if to drive the truth home into the heart of every reader:—'Do you know?' 'Have you calcu-

lated?' And then Balzac's 'Who has not known?' 'Who has not trembled?' The same vigorous application of the truth to actual instances, such as come within the observation of everyone... Do not these marked similarities of idea, this harmony in the ring of the sentences, this family likeness in their conceptions and sentiments, illustrate the proposition we have set out with—that the sharp, caustic, profound genius of the author of '*La Comédie Humaine*' has exerted a powerful influence over the form of opinion, the cast of thought, and the peculiar ring or tone of style so characteristic in the author of *Vanity Fair*?

The other article appeared in *The Modern Language Review* under the title of 'Sainte-Beuve, Balzac and Thackeray'. The part of the article concerned with the latter two authors does not consist of a comparison in general terms, as did the article we have just discussed, but of a comparison of two of the novels—*Henry Esmond* and *Le Lys dans la Vallée*. The writer, P. T. Lafleur, notes that *Henry Esmond* appeared two years after the death of Balzac, and goes on to compare it with *Le Lys dans la Vallée* in these words:

As representatives of political opinion, both family groups are faithful adherents of a doomed or dying cause—Legitimist or Jacobite; and in both cases the young hero (grave and sedate beyond his years) is entrusted with the carrying out of a perilous mission at an important juncture of the story. Each of the heroes has had to endure an unhappy solitary childhood, lack of sympathy and repression; each awakens to the possibilities of an ampler life through his meeting with the heroine, only a few years his senior, mother of two children, with a much older husband... In each novel the leading feminine role falls to one who unites with other qualities a strong practical sense which carries her and her family through serious complications in their affairs and makes her the tutelary spirit of the situation; each, too, loving with womanly and quasi-maternal fidelity the rather priggish and excessively self-conscious youth, undergoes the bitterness of seeing an unworthy rival capture the long-coveted prize.

But having traced all these similarities (and they are all of them quite genuine), Mr Lafleur seems to have become afraid of his own ingenuity. He is anxious to impress upon us (and here he differs from the writer of the other article) that he considers the two authors to be 'far asunder... in their views of life and conduct as well as in their respective conceptions of a writer's art and the responsibilities which it entails on him'. And he concludes that we may hesitate before asserting any influence, because 'Thackeray, for all his reading in the lighter French literature of his time, mentions Balzac sparingly, if at all'.

Thackeray certainly does mention Balzac, and if he mentions him 'sparingly' it is always with a casualness that betokens familiarity. The most serious obstacle is not that Thackeray does not mention Balzac, but that in his published reviews he always mentions him slightly. In *On Some Fashionable French Novels*¹ he favourably compares the work of de Bernard with 'such horrors as Balzac or Dumas has provided for us', and asserts that 'there is ease, grace, and *ton*, in his style, which,

¹ *Paris Sketch Book*.

if we judge aright, cannot be discovered in Balzac, or Soulié, or Dumas'. We are hampered here, as in all studies of Thackeray, by the fact that so little of Thackeray's private correspondence is available. In writing these reviews, Thackeray may well have been pandering to the public taste of his age. It is instructive to note that we know that in private he held a very high opinion of Dumas, and since in public he condemns the two together it is quite possible that in private he also held a very high opinion of Balzac. Another important point to be remembered is that the *Paris Sketch Book* appeared in 1840, before Balzac's best work had appeared. Finally, nothing which Thackeray says against Balzac is incompatible with his having been influenced by him. There is no question but that Thackeray could not go all the way with Balzac, and that certain parts of his work did deal with 'horrors' which Thackeray scrupulously avoided.

With such an author as Arnold Bennett it is easy to establish French influence, because in his copious journals he frankly tells us that he modelled his work on French fiction. With Thackeray the case is different, and to establish such an influence it is necessary to adduce similarities of a detailed nature between the works of each. The article of 1864, interesting and suggestive as it is, can hardly be considered to have proved its case conclusively. The similarities which it points out are of such a general nature that by a hostile critic they could be explained away on the basis of mere similarity of temperament and environment. The case of Mr Lafleur is stronger, but he weakens it by his own apologetic tone and qualifications; and here again the resemblances, while of a more detailed nature, are not sufficiently particularized to present a convincing answer to the critic who might allege that the similarities were merely a matter of coincidence.

Before attempting to establish detailed comparisons between some of the novels, let us note one more obvious external resemblance. That Thackeray derived his method of linking his tales together, by the device of reintroducing known characters, from the similar practice of Balzac cannot I think be disputed. Not only do both the periodical articles mention this as beyond question, but George Saintsbury, who knew these two authors more thoroughly than anyone else, and who moreover worshipped Thackeray as a literary hero, agrees that this is the case. Later to become so popular, this method was a new departure then, and that it should have occurred to Balzac and Thackeray independently, especially when it is established that Thackeray was familiar with Balzac's work, is very improbable indeed.

It is perhaps less important to deal with the early work of Thackeray, because in it he had not yet struck his true note. Yet even here I seem to discern slight resemblances with the work of Balzac. Thus, when in 1841 Thackeray issued a collection of shorter pieces he gave to it the title *Comic Tales and Sketches*. Is it not possible that there is here an echo of Balzac's *Contes Drolatiques*? Again, may not the hint for *The Great Hogarty Diamond* have been supplied by *La Peau de Chagrin*? True, the gulf between the tone of the two stories is immense, but it seems quite possible that the germ of the stories—the talismanic object—had a common origin in the brain of Balzac.

But these links, while they provide interesting food for speculation, are after all rather tenuous. When we come to the first book in which Thackeray really found his métier, *Vanity Fair*, the links become closer and more important. There is in the first place the very strong resemblance between Becky Sharp and Valérie Mameffe (in Balzac's *Cousine Bette*).¹ This resemblance has been pointed out by Saintsbury, and by Taine in his *History of English Literature*. Saintsbury writes:

How great Becky is! Compare her with Valérie Mameffe, her sister certainly in a sense, her mother perhaps—and her true greatness will be seen. Valérie is not, and never could have been, anything but a courtesan of the worst but not the most distinguished kind—Becky has in her the makings not only, as she pathetically observes, of a quite respectable person, but of all manner of persons, good and bad.²

What are the resemblances and what the differences between the two characters? Are the resemblances close enough to indicate influence, and can we find a satisfactory explanation of the differences?

The resemblances are briefly these: both women have brains and ambitions beyond their station and are determined to use their brains to attain these ambitions; wealth is in each case the end to be attained, and the manipulation of men the means to this end; both are endowed with good looks and sexual charm, and both are resolved to use them unscrupulously; both marry a husband who is willing to be made a tool of his wife's devices; both at one time have intimate relations with an influential nobleman through whom they obtain promotion for their husbands; both lure to themselves a talented but weak young man, taking him away from an angelic young wife soon after marriage; both go to church as a cloak for their sins, and are in every way consummate hypocrites; finally nemesis overtakes both of them.

The differences lie in the direction indicated by Saintsbury. Valérie is a coarser creation than Becky, more brutal in her methods. Her

¹ The dates of the books do not preclude influence—*Cousine Bette* appeared serially in 1846, *Vanity Fair* appeared serially 1847–8.

² *A Consideration of Thackeray*, p. 169.

culpability is never in doubt, whereas the extent of Becky's guilt is never really apparent. But are not these and similar differences quite explicable without in any way precluding the possibility of influence? None would wish to assert that Thackeray copied Balzac, what one does assert is that Thackeray was inspired by Balzac's study of a designing and unscrupulous woman to write a similar study. The explanation of the comparative mildness of his picture might be either that Thackeray did not approve of the coarseness of Balzac's study, or that he felt that Valérie's English counterpart, though just as insidious a menace, would be more refined in her methods. Perhaps both these factors operated.¹

The resemblances are, I think, sufficiently close to establish an influence. Not only are there the resemblances noted above between the two central female figures, but there is a great similarity between the two novels in general design and intention. There is an apparent difference in design between the two in that Balzac sought to heighten the drama by portraying the misery which Lord Steyne's counterpart, Baron Hulot, brings upon his family by his attachment to Valérie—an element of the situation which Thackeray has omitted. The difference is in no sense fundamental. What has happened is that in *Vanity Fair* Hortense (wife of Steinbock, the young man who corresponds to George Osborne) and Adeline (wife of Baron Hulot) are telescoped into the single figure of Amelia Sedley. Between the intentions of the two novels there is not even such a trifling difference as this. Both set out to portray realistically the contemporary social scene, and to diagnose the illness which has overtaken it. The diagnoses are strikingly alike. Thackeray said that *Vanity Fair* was an attempt to portray life 'without God in the world'. Throughout the novel he inveighs against the contemporary worship of wealth. Here is Balzac's view:

—D'où vient ce mal profond? demanda la baronne.

—Du manque de religion, répondit le médecin, et de l'envahissement de la finance, qui n'est autre chose que l'égoïsme solidifié. L'argent, autrefois, n'était pas tout; on admettait des supériorités qui le primaient. Il y avait la noblesse, le talent, les services rendus à l'État; mais aujourd'hui, la loi fait de l'argent un étalon général, elle l'a pris pour base de la capacité politique!²

Thackeray's next novel, *Pendennis*, is largely autobiographical and shows less trace of influence. The theme is, however, one which Balzac commonly used—that of the young man, carefully reared in the provinces, going out into the world and encountering temptations. Major

¹ It is interesting that both Becky and Valérie are compared to Delilah, although in the case of Becky it is in respect of her treatment of her husband, and in the case of Valérie with respect to young Steinbock.

² *Cousine Bette* (Œuvres Complètes), p. 535.

Pendennis, the sophisticated and cynical adviser, has also his counterparts in Balzac, though he is a less vicious specimen than, say, Vautrin. And Helen Pendennis, eminently good and kind but somewhat colourless, is a type of feminine character much favoured by both authors, as witness Adeline of *Cousine Bette*, Blanche of *Le Lys dans la Vallée*, Amelia of *Vanity Fair*, and Rachel Esmond of *Henry Esmond*. But these resemblances are too general and vague to go far towards establishing the case for Balzacian influence upon the novel.

With *Henry Esmond* the case is quite different. Mr Lafleur has noted many of the similarities between this novel and *Le Lys dans la Vallée*, and it can be shown that even his long list has not exhausted them and that more detailed parallels can be adduced.

Mr Lafleur pointed out that both Felix and Henry had sad childhoods. He omitted to mention in what similar terms that fact is conveyed by the two authors. Balzac writes:

A quel talent nourri de larmes devrons-nous un jour la plus émouvante élogie, la peinture des tourments subis en silence par les âmes dont les racines tendres encore ne rencontrent que de durs cailloux dans le sol domestique, dont les premières frondaisons sont déchirées par des mains haineuses, dont les fleurs sont atteintes par la gelée au moment où elles s'ouvrent?¹

Thackeray writes:

The unhappiness of those days is long forgiven, though they cast a shade of melancholy over the child's youth, which will accompany him, no doubt, to the end of his days; as those tender twigs are bent the trees grow afterward...²

In each novel this young man not only 'awakens to the possibilities of an ampler life through his meeting with the heroine', but he is permitted exactly the same tokens of affection in each case—holding the lady's hand, and helping her with the management of the estate (neglected by her husband).³ Both Rachel and Blanche are in the habit of 'giving a stately look... which seemed to say "Remember, you understand me, though he [her husband] does not"' to the young adorers'.⁴ More surprising, both husbands, usually after the wife has given one of these 'stately looks' and departed, are in the habit of confiding in the young man and telling him of the fickleness of women.⁵

Both Felix and Henry leave their mistresses in the course of the story—Felix for Paris, Henry for Cambridge. On leaving, both are instructed how to conduct themselves in the world. Both return to find a changed attitude on the part of their respective mistresses, and the scenes of the

¹ *Le Lys dans la Vallée* (Œuvres Complètes), p. 2.

² *Henry Esmond*, Bk. I, ch. viii.

³ *Ibid.* Bk. I, chs. ix, xi. Cf. *Le Lys dans la Vallée*, p. 77 etc.

⁴ *Henry Esmond*, Bk. I, ch. ix; *Le Lys dans la Vallée*, p. 145 et *passim*.

⁵ *Henry Esmond*, Bk. I, ch. ix; *Le Lys dans la Vallée*, pp. 167 ff.

reunion are described so similarly as to merit transcribing them together. Balzac writes:

Quand Henriette vit le jeune homme là où elle n'avait jamais vu qu'un enfant, elle abaissa son regard vers la terre par un mouvement d'une tragique lenteur; elle se laissa prendre et baiser la main sans témoigner ce plaisir intime dont j'étais averti par son frissonnement de sensitive; et, quand elle releva son visage pour me regarder encore, je la trouvai pâle.¹

Thackeray writes:

The tone of her voice was so much deeper and sadder when she spoke and welcomed him, that it quite startled Esmond, who looked up at her surprised as she spoke, when she withdrew her eyes from him.... Her greeting to Esmond was so cold that it almost pained the lad....²

Both heroes form other amorous attachments and in each case the element in the resulting situation which is stressed by the author is the intense suffering caused to the older woman by this inconstancy. The women who cause this inconstancy are, however, quite different. Beatrix, with whom Esmond is temporarily infatuated, is an altogether more attractive figure than the somewhat melodramatic siren who allures Felix. For the character of Beatrix, however, it is possible that Thackeray was indebted to Balzac's novel of that name. For this suggestion I am indebted to George Saintsbury who, in his preface to *Béatrix* in the series of translations from Balzac which he edited in 1886, wrote:

The satire on the unamiable side of mere womanliness which the sketch of Beatrix contains is, of course, open and undeniable. I think that Thackeray has far excelled it, but I am not certain that he was not indebted to it as a pattern.

Like Thackeray's Beatrix, Balzac's heroine, although she has no love for Calyste, wishes to keep him in subjection to her. They are both very susceptible to flattery, incautious, self-willed, and wholly devoted to the task of enlarging their ego. The characters are so similar, and Beatrix so uncommon a name in England, that Saintsbury's guess seems well-founded. Already Thackeray had named one of his heroines after the heroine of a novel he had admired (Amelia in *Vanity Fair* from Fielding's *Amelia*).

To return to the comparison between *Henry Esmond* and *Le Lys*, it is clear that the more closely we inquire into the two novels the more conclusive does the similarity noticed by Mr Lafleur become. Not only is the general situation in each case almost identical, but individual scenes and even individual speeches and gestures closely echo each other. What, however, of Mr Lafleur's assertion that the general spirit and aim of the two authors are totally different? Before passing to this broader topic we must pause to consider one more novel of Thackeray's—*The Newcomes*.

¹ *Le Lys dans la Vallée*, p. 203.

² *Henry Esmond*, Bk. I, ch. XI.

The Newcomes, as a study of family life, has an obvious kinship with *Les Parents Pauvres*, *Le Père Goriot*, and other such studies by Balzac. But in this novel, as in *Pendennis*, the Balzacian influence seems to be present as a background only. In writing his account of the Colonel's misfortunes in old age Thackeray cannot but have had in mind Balzac's masterly studies of similar situations in *Cousin Pons* and *Le Père Goriot*, but as a character the Colonel is indigenous to England. He is the last representative of an order of society peculiar to England and of which Thackeray's own forbears had been representatives. Yet he has qualities which connect him with Balzac's tragic old men—his simplicity, his generosity of soul, his selflessness. And his tragedy is essentially their tragedy—that of being entrapped in a world devoted to alien gods, the victim of an age which has nothing but scorn for the standards he has lived by. The agents of his doom are the same—the scheming, wealth-seeking mothers-in-law, the ruthless entrepreneurs of a materialistic era. We are led on, obviously, to wider considerations which transcend the case of this individual novel.

Balzac and Thackeray, wrote Mr Lafleur, are 'far asunder in their views of life and conduct'. This view does not fit the facts. It was shown that in the case of *Vanity Fair* and *Cousine Bette* their diagnoses of the malady of society were identical. This can be shown to be true of the majority of their opinions. The root of the misconception of which Mr Lafleur was guilty seems to be the view that, while on the whole Thackeray was on the side of the angels, Balzac was, if not on the side of the devil, at best neutral on moral questions. That is, at any rate, the view commonly expressed in nineteenth-century English periodicals. 'We are forced to the conviction that every work written by De Balzac gave one more blow to French morality' wrote an English reviewer in *Bentley's Magazine*. Such a misconception arises through confusing Balzac's dramatic utterances with his own beliefs. A *Quarterly* reviewer made this explicit when he said: 'It is Vautrin's philosophy which was Balzac's own.'¹ Such an accusation is, of course, as ridiculous as to equate Iago with Shakespeare. When Balzac speaks in his own person it is to give voice to sentiments quite different from those attributed to Vautrin. Thus in *Cousine Bette*, when Valérie is lying on her death-bed, Balzac breaks in to say:

La religion trouvait une âme à sauver dans un amas de pourriture qui, des cinq sens de la créature, n'avait gardé que la vue. La sœur de la charité, qui seule avait accepté la tâche de garder Valérie, se tenait à distance. Ainsi l'Église catholique, ce corps divin, toujours animé par l'inspiration du sacrifice en toute chose, assistait, sous

¹ *Quarterly Review*, CLXXI (1890), 57.

la double forme d'esprit et de chair, cette infâme et infecte moribund en lui prodiguant sa mansuétude infinie et ses inépuisables trésors de miséricorde.¹

As for sexual morality, Balzac writes (again in his own person):

Certes, le mariage doit être accepté comme une tâche, il est la vie avec ses travaux et ses durs sacrifices également faits des deux côtés. Les libertins, ces chercheurs de trésors, sont aussi coupables que d'autres malfaiteurs plus sévèrement punis qu'eux. Cette réflexion n'est pas un placage de morale, elle donne la raison de bien des malheurs inconnus. Cette Scène porte d'ailleurs avec elle ses moralités, qui sont de plus d'un genre.²

And what a contrast to the philosophy of Vautrin are these words, put into the mouth of Blanche, heroine of *Le Lys dans la Vallée*!

La puissance est clémente, elle se rend à l'évidence, elle est juste et paisible; tandis que les passions engendrées par la faiblesse sont impitoyables; elles sont heureuses quand elles peuvent agir à la manière des enfants qui préfèrent les fruits volés en secret à ceux qu'ils peuvent manger à table.³

The truth is that Balzac, like Thackeray, admired true religion and true morality; it was the sham piety and shallow conventionality of their day which both authors attacked. Both have been accused of cynicism, and in each case the accusation will not bear examination. They were not 'far asunder in their views of life and conduct'; nor were they 'far asunder ... in their respective conceptions of a writer's art and the responsibilities which it entails upon him'. For in each case the fundamental conception of this art and its responsibilities was the necessity of exposing the shams and hypocrisies of their world, of assailing false gods. And not only were their ends alike, but the methods which they adopted to achieve these ends were alike. Both relied mainly on the hope that a detailed and accurate representation of this world would teach its own lesson, and both were prepared to implement this picture occasionally with comments made in the author's own person.

How similar are the pictures of contemporary society which each author presents, how similar their methods! In each case the impression given is of a complete world, and a world given over to the pursuit of wealth and the power which wealth brings. Even love in this materialistic society has become a mere avenue to wealth. Idealists like Cousin Pons and Colonel Newcome are anachronisms in this world and are made its victims. The people who belong to it are the scheming mothers-in-law, using their daughters as a bait to catch big incomes, and the sirens like Becky and Valérie, using their beauty for the same purpose. As for the methods employed by both authors to convey this impression, there is first the reintroduction of known characters to the end that the reader may capture this sense of a whole world rather than of a few isolated

¹ *Cousine Bette*, p. 540.

² *Cousine Bette*, p. 367.

³ Op. cit. p. 215.

individuals, and may realize the subtle web of intrigue that weaves all parts of it together; there is the attention paid by both writers to the genealogies of their characters so that we are made to see this age in a wider background and from a truer perspective; there are the long and detailed accounts of conversations and dinners and balls, making the reader realize for perhaps the first time how essentially dull and tedious the people of this world, and their activities, are, and what sordid ambitions and jealousies underlie their superficial gaiety.

In all these respects Balzac and Thackeray are amazingly alike. But there is one respect at least in which they differ. This difference was well expressed in the *Revue des deux Mondes* in 1849:

Il y a de l'analogie entre ce talent d'observation et celui de M. de Balzac. Ce dernier analyse surtout les détails corrompus et s'y complait. M. Thackeray les fait seulement deviner; il laisse la queue de la sirène plonger au fond de l'eau, où elle enlance des cadavres et glisse sur les immondices. C'est la joie de M. de Balzac de nous entraîner dans ces profondeurs, et certes on ne peut mettre dans une telle œuvre plus de talent et de sagacité puissante. Le malin plaisir de M. Thackeray est d'indiquer ce qu'il ne montre pas.¹

What is the explanation of this relative timidity on Thackeray's part? Was it because Thackeray himself did not wish to paint the full horrors of vice; or because it was impossible in the England of his day? If more of Thackeray's private correspondence were available it might be possible to give a final answer to this question; as it is we must remain in the realm of conjecture. In the preface to *Pendennis*, in *The Newcomes* and in *Vanity Fair* the refrain is repeated: 'You will not hear...', 'The squeamishness of the age is such...', 'We must pass over...'. And yet Thackeray speaks of the 'horrors' of Balzac and of French fiction generally. It has been suggested above that this last fact is, however, without much value as evidence. Perhaps the most probable explanation of Thackeray's comparative reticence is this: he was fully conscious of the evil and absurdity of prudery, but he realized also how firmly it was entrenched in England; consequently, he felt that a direct blow at this stronghold was foredoomed to failure, and that the best strategy was to prepare the way by a series of indirect blows. In other words, Thackeray probably felt that *Vanity Fair* would be read and do good where *Cousine Bette* would be left unread or be used as evidence further to strengthen the cause of prudery. Moreover, he had to make his living in Victorian society. His method consequently is banter rather than fierce satire. Look at the deftness of his blows:

¹ Op. cit. (1849), I, 540. The same image, expressed in almost the same words, appears with reference to Thackeray in Charlotte Brontë's preface to the 2nd edition of *Jane Eyre*. But both are to be traced to Thackeray himself—see *Vanity Fair*, ch. LXIV.

• The world is no doubt right in a great part of its squeamishness, for it is good to pretend to the virtue of chastity even though we do not possess it.¹

Perhaps it is best to do as Hannibal's painter did, and draw only that side of the face which has not the blind eye. . . . Let the reader, according to his taste, select the artist who shall give a likeness of him or only half a likeness.¹

We must pass over a part of Mrs Rebecca Crawley's biography with that lightness and delicacy which the world demands—the moral world, that has, perhaps, no particular objection to vice, but an insuperable repugnance to having the vice called by its proper name.²

There is little of the prude in such sentences.

Whatever its explanation, the fact of Thackeray's relative reticence remains. It was a concession to the public of his day and it weakens his work. There was another concession which he made, and which also marks a distinction between him and Balzac. In obedience to the contemporary demand for happy endings, Henry Esmond and Rachel are finally allowed to marry, and Amelia and Dobbin, in *Vanity Fair*, also reach the haven of connubial bliss. It is hardly necessary to say that no such happy fate befalls Felix and Blanche, and the end of *Cousine Bette* makes a beautiful contrast with the end of *Vanity Fair*—Baron Hulot, apparently at last a true penitent, ends by seducing the servant-girl!

It was perhaps of differences such as these that Mr Lafleur was thinking. But surely such differences are rather to be attributed to the difference between the two publics than between the two authors. And in any case such differences are far outweighed by the great general similarity between the world painted by each and the methods used in the painting.

But to return to the subject of influence. The similarities found between individual novels of the two authors, and the pervasion through all their novels of the same general spirit, by no means dispose of Thackeray as a mere imitator of Balzac. What they do suggest is that Thackeray read Balzac, and perhaps met him in Paris, recognized in him a spirit similar to his own, and felt himself inspired to attempt a picture of English society which should correspond to the picture Balzac was painting of French society. In so doing it was natural that he should make use of certain of the Balzacian devices. It was natural also that he should adapt his characters and material to the taste of the English public and to the idiosyncratic features of the English scene. As for the very close resemblances between certain individual novels, it seems clear that as Thackeray wrote there were vivid in his mind scenes and situations in Balzac's novels, and that this influenced his own handling of his

¹ *Critical Papers in Literature*: "Fielding's works."

² *Vanity Fair*, ch. LXIV.

material, sometimes provided him with his material. The conclusion of the whole matter has been well stated by Saintsbury. 'There was no copying or imitation, the lessons taught by Balzac were too much blended with those of native masters, such as Fielding, and too much informed and transformed by individual genius. . . . But the relations of pupil and master at least in some degree cannot be denied.'

W. C. D. PACEY.

BRANDON: MANITOBA.

SIXTY YEARS OF GOETHE, 1880-1940

THE impression has got abroad that the period 1880-1940 is one in which the genius of Goethe is questioned while his character is held up to ridicule. Is this attitude to Goethe in fact anything more than a phosphorescent glitter on the surface of deep currents which roll the eternal worship of the poet along? What it amounts to is that in two successive phases of recent literature there is a repetition of that peevish hostility to Goethe which we find in late romanticism and Jung-Deutschland: that is, in the naturalism of the eighties Goethe is derided as a Court poet,¹ while in the period of expressionism he is attacked as a hide-bound Philistine. The strange thing is that if these attacks in the three periods are compared they show a striking similarity. While this may no doubt be explained as the inevitable expression of an identical storm-and-stress reaction against fixity in the political and social order and in literary form, it is also clear that there is conscious imitation both of the furious frontal attack of Borne and the more insidious innuendoes of Heine.

What Heine says in his review of Wolfgang Menzel's *Die deutsche Literatur* (1828) is variously paraphrased in the manifestos of the early naturalists:

Das Prinzip der Goetheschen Zeit, die Kunstidee, entweicht. Eine neue Zeit mit einem neuen Prinzip steigt auf... Vielleicht fühlt Goethe selbst, dass die schöne objektive Welt, die er durch Wort und Beispiel gestiftet hat, notwendigerweise zusammenfällt, so wie die Kunstidee allmählich ihre Herrschaft verliert, und dass neue frische Geister von der neuen Idee der neuen Zeit hervorgetrieben werden und gleich nordischen Barbaren, die in den Süden einbrechen, das zivilisierte Goethetum über den Haufen werfen...

'Neue frische Geister' is just what the '*Moderne Dichter-Charaktere*' of the 1884 Anthology proclaim themselves to be. But whereas the naturalist iconoclasts reject the 'Kunstidee'² (that is, perfection of form, to them mainly represented by the poetry of the Munich School), the expressionists brand Goethe as one who has sacrificed the idea of art to bourgeois conceptions of restraint and morality. To the naturalists Goethe is a beauty-monger; to the expressionists he is a 'Bürger'. To use one of Heine's terms again, Goethe is to the expressionists an 'Indifferentist',

¹ In a conversation with Eckermann, 27 April 1825, Goethe indignantly denies that he is a 'Fürstendiener'. He pictures both himself and the Grossherzog as (so to speak) simple 'Bürger' serving their fellow-men.

² A motto is quoted from Lenz: 'Der Geist des Künstlers wiegt mehr als das Werk seiner Kunst.' The expressionists say the same.

a 'Fanatiker der Ruhe',¹ with all his vital pulses slowed down by 'Trägheit des Herzens', not borne along in ecstasy as a true poet is by the winds of the spirit, but fashioning works that have the loveliness and the cold lifelessness of statues.²

It is notorious that this partisan aloofness to Goethe continued in greater or less degree throughout the nineteenth century. It was helped by a consistent comparison of Goethe to his disadvantage with Schiller.³ Romanticism of course almost begins with the Schlegels' strategic elevation of Schiller over Goethe; but from then onwards to our own day critics have to fight against this subordination of the more popular poet to the poets' poet. And it is striking that in this contrast of the two poets Goethe stands for the earth-bound realist while Schiller is the selfless idealist. This contrast we find even in Hermann Grimm's essays. It is on Hermann Grimm's *Vorlesungen über Goethe* (1876), however, that the modern appreciation of Goethe is based. The efforts of academic critics such as Scherer were for a generation impeded, as far as the second part of *Faust* was concerned, by Fr. Th. Vischer's parody of it in *Faust, der Tragödie Dritter Teil* (1862); and yet this critic's original if occasionally

¹ A favourite term after the 1848 disturbances.

² 'Da er den philosophischen Enthusiasmus unserer Zeit nicht begriff oder nicht begreifen wollte, weil er dadurch aus seiner Gemutsruhe herausgerissen zu werden fürchtete, so behandelte er den Enthusiasmus überhaupt ganz historisch. . . , der Geist wurde Materie unter seinen Händen, und er gab ihm die schöne, gefällige Form.' Heine: *Die romantische Schule*.

³ Schiller has much in common with the social doctrines both of the naturalists and the expressionists: in particular he foresaw that reduction of the working man to a cog in the machine which is a favourite theme of both schools (e.g. Alfred Petzold's sonnet *Die Teilnahmslosen*); he says: 'Ewig nur an ein einzelnes kleines Bruchstück des Ganzen gefesselt, bildet sich der Mensch nur als Bruchstück aus; ewig nur das eintönige Geräusch des Rades, das er umtreibt, im Ohre, entwickelt er nie die Harmonie seines Wesens, . . . wird er bloss zu einem Abdruck seines Geschäfts'—*Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*, Letter vi

At the same time Schiller arrives at that solution of the problem of labour with which the working-men poets of recent years—partly under the compulsion of Nazi ideology—close this lyric revolt against the slavery of the machine: 'sklavische Beschäftigung', he says, passes to the sublime when it blends with elevated thinking; the workman, says Heinrich Lersch (*Im Pulsschlag der Maschinen*, 1935), surrenders his soul to the machine and thus transforms it into spirit. Schiller's preaching of the common brotherhood of man is the very base of expressionist ethics. Goethe, again, is identified both as courtier and 'Burger' with the propertied classes, whereas texts could be taken from Schiller to fortify socialist doctrines: e.g. 'eine solche Ausdehnung des Eigentumsrechts, wobei ein Teil der Menschen zugrunde gehen kann, ist in der blossen Natur nicht gegründet.' At the same time Goethe has been claimed as a Socialist, on account of his letter to Frau von Stein in March 1779, in which he says he could not work at *Iphigenie* because of the starving weavers in Apolda. The problem of the impoverishment of artisans by the introduction of machinery (a favourite theme of naturalism—Max Kretzer's *Meister Timpe*, Gerhart Hauptmann's *Die Weber*) is dealt with in Book III of *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*; Goethe's conclusions here, says H. W. Nevins (Goethe, p. 219), amount to 'a free Marxism'. *Der ewige Jude* has the tenor of naturalist 'Mitleids poesie'. Goethe has even been made to serve the Communist cause: *Des Epimenides Erwachen* was produced in part at Munich in 1918 to celebrate the revolution. For *Prometheus* as a revolutionary drama see Bielschowsky, Vol. II, p. 468.

'eccentric appreciation of Goethe in his *Auch Einer* (1879)—a novel hard to read to-day except for those sections which deal brilliantly with philosophical ideas and aesthetics—is regularly cited by the naturalists. One passage in *Auch Einer* (vol. II, pp. 364–5) might even have been taken over by the impressionists for their anti-naturalist manifestos:

Echtes Kunstwerk hat mitten im Klaren doch immer Traum-Charakter, ist 'von Geister-Hauch umwittert'. Goethes Gedichte hören sich wie ein leises Schlafreden, nur um ein wenig, ganz wenig deutlicher.¹ Man kann ihren Inhalt nicht greifen, nicht an den Fingern abzählen. Der Charakter im Dichterbild wurzelt, so bestimmt er sich ausladet, in geheimnisvollen Naturtiefen....

The case against Goethe is stated with unsparing force in Nietzsche's² *Schopenhauer als Erzieher* (1874), the gist of which is a comparison of Goethe with Schopenhauer. Where Heine had hedged and hinted Nietzsche speaks out with all his hatred of 'Halbheiten und Flausen'. The brunt of the argument is that Goethe is no model for modern man; for the final result of his teaching is the reduction of heroic effort and revolt to a tame acceptance of things as they are. 'Der goethische Mensch ist eine erhaltende und vertragliche Kraft—aber unter der Gefahr . . . dass er zum Philister entarten kann.' Here we have philosophical authority for Carl Sternheim's rejection of Goethe as an utter Philistine. Man as shaped by Goethe's teaching, says Nietzsche, patiently perfects the nature he has; Schopenhauer's disciple, restlessly active, burns up his old Adam in the fires of suffering and steps forth transformed and immune to all the horrors of existence (this is the expressionists' conception of 'Wandlung'). In this essay of Nietzsche's the vocabulary of invective later hurled at Goethe is gathered or indicated: Goethe is 'das Korrektiv und Quietiv' of Socialist or Communist revolt; Goethe has the cold and contemptuous neutrality of the scientists; he does not sacrifice his own earthly happiness to attack the institutions that have nurtured him. The main charge is that Goethe's disciple must perfect himself to 'edle Weichlichkeit'; this is the 'Seelenerweichung' which expressionists and Nazis attribute to Goethe. In *Die Geburt der Tragödie* (1872) Nietzsche rejects the sophrosyne of Socrates for similar reasons: it is not active or tragic; and it is curious that any definition of sophrosyne will give just those terms which are turned against Goethe in our period: 'vernunftgemässe Besonnenheit'; 'besonnene Zurückhaltung'; 'Selbstbeherrschung'; 'die auf richtiger Einsicht beruhende und zur Sittlichkeit gewordene Besonnenheit, die in jeder Lage das rechte Mass

¹ This is literally true of Max Dauthendey's and Alfred Mombert's lyrics.

² His poem *An Goethe* parodies the closing lines of *Faust II*.

zu halten weiss'. There is further support for the hostility to Goethe in the writings of another philosopher with a brilliant and popular style: Eugen Dühring, who in other respects, too, complements Nietzsche; he rejects the poet's 'Beschönigung der Realität' as not only immoral but unaesthetic.¹

Nietzsche's attack on Goethe was answered in detail by the Swedish essayist Ellen Key, whose writings were much read in Germany, in her book *Personlichkeit und Schönheit*; in the notes she incorporates a lecture she gave in the Nietzsche-Archiv at Weimar in 1905. In the 'Meeresstille' to which Goethe attains Nietzsche sees the annihilation of effort; he says too (and this is a common illusion of the anti-Goethe cliques) that Goethe's aim is happiness here below; to these charges Ellen Key replies: '... es gibt die Tiefen. Immer wieder wurde Goethe selbst Tiefe, immer weniger windgejagte Welle; seine Lebensfrömmigkeit begnügt sich nicht mit dem Glück des Seins, nur mit dem des Werdens...' She explains Nietzsche's essay as 'ein Angriff auf die intuitive gegenüber der deduktiven, die synthetische gegenüber der analytischen Anlage'.

A comparison of Goethe with Schopenhauer as implied in Helene Böhlau's *Ratsmädelgeschichten* (1888) might be claimed as the first tentative sketch of that contrast of Goethe as 'Bürger' with the coruscating type of 'Künstler' which belongs to the stock-in-trade of a section of expressionism.² The novelist's attitude to both characters is neutral: Goethe is impressive, but more as a great dignitary and traditional figure than as a poet, while Schopenhauer, the *enfant terrible* of Weimar, is the type of the modern wit who shocks his hearers by flashes of cynicism and startling paradox. In *Ratsmädelgeschichten*, too, we find the germ of that most poignant contrast of Goethe and Schiller, Thomas Mann's *Schwere Stunde*: Röse, after the first performance of *Tasso*, says: 'Übrigens ist es kein Wunder, wenn es ihm [Goethe] so gelingt. Wenn man einmal ein grosser Mensch von Natur ist, da braucht man nur zu leben, und es macht sich von selbst'. . . Mir tut Ernsten sein Vater leid [Ernst is Schiller's

¹ 'Ästhetische Moral' belongs to Schiller's creed of beauty. The idea is: the beautiful > the good. In the *Wanderjahre* Goethe has abandoned this aesthetic conception for the idea: the useful > the beautiful (J. G. Robertson, *The Life and Work of Goethe*, London, 1932, p. 269); and this is the aesthetic doctrine of *Die Neue Sachlichkeit*.

² Goethe met Schopenhauer frequently 1815-19; in 1819 he read *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. Wilhelm Hertz (in the *Goethe-Jahrbucher*) took the impudent Baccalaureus in *Faust II*, Act II, Sc. 1, to be a portrait of Schopenhauer. It is agreed that certain ideas of Schopenhauer are caricatured in the scene; and, though Frau von Kalb's statement to Duntzer that Goethe read the passage to her twelve years before *Faust I* was published (i.e. 1796) would rule this out, Goethe's remark to Eckermann (6 December 1829) that he was aiming at the arrogance of young people in the first years after the War of Liberation makes it seem possible.

³ 'Qu'a-t-il fait pour être un si grand homme? Il s'est donné la peine de naître.' (Beaumarchais.)

son], dass er so früh hat sterben müssen'. Goethe stands out, too, from the pages of Helene Bohlau's *Altweimarische Liebes- und Ehegeschichten* (1897) and *Die Kristallkugel* (1902). The poet is still an ideal figure, but the general trend of Helene Bohlau's portraits of artists is revolt against the accepted conventions of art; she gives us finely drawn figures of painters who live *by* art but not *for* art: 'der Künstler als Bürger', as Goethe appears to the Sternheim group.¹ She may in her early work idealize her native Weimar with its old-world ways; nevertheless it frayed her nerves: 'sie sehnte sich nach lebender Schönheit, und man wies ihr Goethes Totenmaske in Watte eingepackt vor.'

The naturalists' rejection of Goethe was a matter of doctrine, and their doctrine was for a good part derived from certain foreign authors, of whom Tolstoy was one. Tolstoy had branded Goethe as an immoral egotist, a pantheistic nature-worshipper like Turgenieff; and the naturalists followed suit. In this they were inconsistent; for their own works are often immoral. A further inconsistency is that while they derided old man Goethe and gave currency to the term 'Geheimrat-quetsch' they made much of *Stella*, actually because it rebelled against conventional morality. The Hart brothers, in *Kritische Waffengänge*, put Goethe's Storm and Stress works in the forefront of their programme; and Otto Julius Bierbaum, while he jeered at the 'Kunstgreis', loved the radiant youth whose rhythms echo into his own light lyrics. That the Goethe whom the naturalists laughed at was not the real Goethe, but Goethe as created in their minds by certain academic biographers, would be clear from the references to Goethe in (say) Bierbaum's *Kaktus* (1898): they take over Heine's term 'Jupiter tonans'; they picture the poet massive in his closely buttoned greatcoat, the portentous 'Geheimrat' on the hearth-rug; as the unbending one, impossibly self-controlled; but chiefly as 'Kunstgreis' and 'Hofdichter'. In the sarcastic preface of *Kaktus* Wolfgang Menzel on Goethe is approvingly mentioned and a new professorial edition of his history of literature is asked for. What people read of Goethe to-day, we are told, is not the solemn stuff: 'Goethe ist geradezu typisch für die Frivolität der dichtenden Künstler.' (This is not to be taken seriously, though it is symptomatic: the preface to *Kaktus* is another of those scorings of professors—Liliencron's thrusts at Emil Wolff and Alfred Biese in *Poggfred* are the most notorious examples—which provide some of the cheap humour of naturalism.) The one thing in which naturalists and expressionists agree with regard to Goethe is

¹ 'Er, der die Ruhe so liebte, die Regel, die Gutbürgerlichkeit, hatte ihn doch selbst die Kunst diesem allen nie untreu gemacht' (*Das Haus zur Flamm*).

that they condemn his restraint, both personal and literary; and the final page of *Kaktus* states this clearly:

Jener Dichter der Vorzeit, dessen Dichtungsart wir überwunden haben, wenn wir sie auch für seine Zeit begreifen und schätzen mögen: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, hat uns das Eine, Dauernde gelehrt, dass der höhere Mensch im entscheidenden Momente, wo der Genius überschwänglich wird, kühl zu werden hat.

In Bierbaum's *Sonderbare Geschichten* (1908) the most interesting of the references to Goethe is that put into the mouth of Ahasverus, who complains that Goethe, though he knew his story from youth onwards, preferred to shape the tale of Faust. There is other evidence that Goethe's *Der ewige Jude* was one of the *opera minora* which was still read in our period.¹

Actually Bierbaum's frequent quotations of Goethe prove him to have been a genuine Goethianer; and this one could certainly say of Otto Erich Hartleben (with his *Goethe-Brevier*, 1895) and Karl Henckell, whose poem *Goethe*, with its contrast of 'gebändigte Flut' and tempest-tossed naturalism, keeps its place in the anthologies. Peter Hille's love of Goethe shines out from his almost ghostly reinterpretation of the relations of Gretchen and Faust in his free rhythmic poem *Gestaltungen*. One of the most pregnant interpretations of the poet's 'weise Beschränkung' is Peter Hille's distich *Goethe*: 'Unermessliches berg ich noch, denn ich gebe aus Vorsicht/Immer Gelinderes nur, ewig Verschwiegenes ruht.'

The first notable achievement of naturalism in the lyric field (apart from *Moderne Dichter-Charaktere*, which has mainly symptomatic value) is Arno Holz's *Buch der Zeit* (1885). Here naturalist inconsistency again stands out: Goethe is rejected in favour of Fritz Reuter and Wilhelm Busch,² while Gottfried Keller is praised because the gold of Goethe flashes and rolls through his verse.³ The references in the book to Goethe⁴ and his works are frequently sarcastic and parodistic (but that belongs to the aggressive intention of the poems). What gives the volume its rank in the history of literature is the fact that it desperately strives to realize Heine's programme of poetry fitted to the needs of the new time: 'Kein rückwärts schauender Prophet,⁵/geblendet durch unfassliche

¹ The portrait of the Wandering Jew in *Schmuliuss Cäsar*, the Novelle concerned, is one of the finest in the relevant literature of the period; it is effective because it is at the same time a pen picture of a real eternal wanderer, Peter Hille. The Wandering Jew is a favourite theme of the period; he appears in Liliencron's *Der schwermütige König (Nebel und Sonne)*; he is the hero of H. F. Blunck's *Berend Fock* (1921). As in Goethe's fragment Christ returns to earth and moves among the poor in Max Kretzer's naturalist novel *Das Gesicht Christi* (1897). Isolde Kurz's *Weltgericht* is in the tone of Goethe's poem.

² 'Für Schnüllern etcetra!'

³ 'An Gottfried Keller.'

⁴ 'Die letzten Zehn'; 'Das kommt davon'; 'Wie es kam'; 'Ein "garstig" Lied'; 'Den Franzosenfressern'; the garden scene of *Faust I* as an episode in 'Erkenne dich selbst'.

⁵ This obviously echoes Heine's description of Schiller (in *Die romantische Schule*) as 'ein rückwärtsgekehrter Prophet'. Karl Henckell, in *Ein Lied*, varies the image: '...ich bin ein zukunfts winkender/Poet der Gegenwart.'

Idole,/modern sei der Poet,/modern vom Scheitel bis zur Sohle.' In the long poem *Zum Eingang* Holz foresees the coming power-poetry of machinery ('die Hämmer senken sich und dröhnen:/Schau her, auch das ist Poesie!/. . . sie treibt auch singend die Maschinen. . ./sie schlingt den Dampf ums Haupt als Schleier/und saust dahin als Eisenbahn'). The programme was not fully realized by the naturalists: for such poems as Gerhart Hauptmann's *Im Nachtzug* are descriptive in the old sense; the real power-poetry of our time has been written by the expressionists and the working-men poets. The poetry of steam and railways as a matter of fact goes back to Heine's time (to Chamisso's *Das Dampffross*, 1830).

There is no mistaking Wilhelm Bölsche's love of Goethe; apart from his other works it weaves itself into the very texture of *Das Liebesleben in der Natur* (1898-1902). Throughout the book, a detailed proof of evolution in Darwin's but also in Goethe's sense, Goethe's name is instinctively and repeatedly used as a symbol of the highest intellectual value. It is part of Bölsche's Goethe worship that he makes short work of Tolstoy as the zealot who rejects art; he does not mention Tolstoy by name, but it is clear he is aiming at him in his interpretation of the moral perverts who reject art and poetry as erotic stimulants, from Diogenes onwards: they are products of the rule of contraries. The argument of the book amounts to a demonstration by the phenomena of love of the struggle between good and evil as symbolized by the conflict of Faust and Mephistopheles. This is clear from the final chapters, in which the suppressed matter from *Römische Elegien* ('die schönste Liebesdichtung deutscher Sprache') is discussed as illustrating a vital factor in the theme.

The reaction against the naturalists' conception of Goethe is usually dated from Rudolf Huch's *Mehr Goethe* (1899), which indignantly demands a return to the sophrosyne of Goethe and the standard writers of the pre-naturalist period. The author was hailed in some quarters as a new Lessing, but the tractate is hardly more than a plea for a continuity of poetic realism, which as a matter of fact had not been broken. Rudolf Huch modified his views in *Eine Krisis: Betrachtung über die gegenwärtige Lage der Literatur*; but he still rated Nietzsche as a pygmy in comparison with Schopenhauer.

More symptomatic of the reaction against naturalism is Johannes Schlaf's *In Dingsda* (1892), simply because it was written by a naturalist. The theme is slight: the town-worn naturalist poet returns to the bosom of nature. It is significant that in packing his books for rural reading he leaves Dostoeffski, Zola, Ibsen, Tolstoy at home, but takes 'ein paar Bände Goethe. . .Alte Liebe rostet nicht'. The style is more or less

modelled on that of *Werther*, which is mentioned. Quite *Goethesch* are such bursts as: 'Mensch will ich sein, ganz zum Leben tüchtig werden... Fühlen will ich, wie... die tausend Kräfte der Natur wunderbar durch-einander walten.'

Unsparring in his hostility to naturalism was Otto Ernst; and it is characteristic that throughout his work Goethe is constantly mentioned and quoted. His long poem *Goethe und Tasso* winds its theme round that very dictum from *Tasso* ('Erlaubt ist, was sich ziemt') which made Carl Sternheim see red. Otto Ernst's essays—though in *Offnes Visier* (1890) he refers to Goethe as 'der noch nicht klassisch gewordene'—bring in the poet and his works *à tout bout de champ*; sometimes curiously, as when he praises Karl Bleibtreu's *Schlechte Gesellschaft* as a 'Wertherbuch', or blames the Germans for accepting Gretchen as their ideal maiden and being squeamish in their love poetry (proof sufficient of his ignorance of the erotic lyric of his day). But it is in the three volumes of his glaringly autobiographical novel *Asmus Sempers Jugendland* (1905), *Semper der Jungling* (1908), and *Semper der Mann* (1916) that his Goethe obsession comes out. These *romans à clefs* are such a literal transcript of the writer's own rise in life and such a mirror of literary tendencies that they may be classed as a first plunging attempt at what is now called the 'Tatsachenroman'. The interest is mainly of a scandalous nature. The characters are transparent: Dietrich Freiherr von Löwenclau is Liliencron as Hamburg knew him in all the grotesque glory of his disrepute; Leo Finsterberg is Dehmel, Honorius is Ferdinand Avenarius, Harald Dambrog is Holger Drachmann. The picture of Prinz Emil zu Schönaich-Carolath (as Prinz Ewald von Schonndorf-Karlsreuth) is one of the best there is. The literary judgments are amateurish: Otto Ernst was the typical elementary schoolmaster proud of the fulness of his knowledge and scornful of the higher literary criticism of his day, and the importance he gives to Goethe and his works (particularly *Faust*) is thus not so much symptomatic of a literary current as an indication that people of average culture regarded familiarity with Goethe as essential for a good show. Otto Ernst's pet aversion is Nietzsche; which does not prevent him from identifying himself with the 'Herrenvolk' destined to put England in her proper place. One of the amusing things in *Semper der Mann* is the way in which the author reveals himself as a prime favourite of the Kaiser; advanced literary circles were duly shocked by a picture postcard showing him sitting side by side with Kaiser Wilhelm in Weimar, 'Deutschlands heiligste Stätte'; the result is that he stands out in the annals of the period as a 'Hofdichter'. What happened when

Asmus Semper ('furchtbarer Weise') invited the Social Democrats of Hamburg to a 'Goethefeier' he had organized is unfortunately not disclosed. Asmus points out that 'Philister' and 'Spiessbürger' are now the favourite terms for 'die Zurückgebliebenen'; he proposes that they should be accepted as honourable designations, and forms the plan of founding and editing a journal with the title of 'Der Goethephilister' to combat the evils of the day—that is, 'Amoralismus', 'Immoralismus', 'schränkenloser Individualismus', 'konsequenter Egoismus', 'unbegrenzte Skepsis'. As against this insistence by a schoolmaster on Goethe as a pillar of propriety we may set the fact that in *Der Probekandidat* by Otto Ernst's fellow 'Kompromissdramatiker' Max Dreyer the educational authorities are represented as being hostile to Goethe.

The return to Goethe is so general with the impressionists that it is hardly necessary to discuss it. One curious feature is that worship of Nietzsche goes with the cult of Goethe: for both are regarded as aristocrats, and impressionism scraps 'Heldenlosigkeit' for worship of rare characters. Gundolf's *Goethe*, Stefan George's *Goethes letzte Nacht in Italien*, Hofmannsthal's *Der Tor und der Tod* (a decadent variant of the opening scene of *Faust*) are typical. Robert-Faesi's *Odysseus und Nausikaa* (1911) completes Goethe's fragments, and Ernst Rosmer's *Nausikaa* (1906) is metrically influenced by Goethe. There is more of the problematical in two poets whose origins touch naturalism—Liliencron and Dehmel.

No one can miss the influence of Goethe on Liliencron. Goethe is mentioned and quoted in *Poggfred*, where he even appears as a spirit (Kantus xvii). The poem *An Otto Julius Bierbaum* (in *Nebel und Sonne*) is headed by quotations from Goethe which are obviously regarded as an absolute justification of impressionism; and indeed any impressionist theoretician might have been proud to have expressed the very spirit of impressionism so clearly and forcibly:

Es war im ganzen nicht meine Art, als Poet nach Verkörperung von etwas *Abstraktem* zu streben. Ich empfang in meinem Innern *Eindrücke*, und zwar Eindrücke sinnlicher, lebensfroher, lieblicher, bunter, hundertfaltiger Art, wie eine rege *Einbildungskraft* es mir darbot; und ich hatte als Poet weiter nichts zu tun, als solche Anschauungen und Eindrücke in mir künstlerisch zu runden und auszubilden und durch eine lebendige Darstellung so zum Vorschein zu bringen, dass andere dieselbigen Eindrücke erhielten, wenn sie mein Dargestelltes hörten oder lasen.¹

Liliencron's second quotation was a favourite with the theoreticians of French symbolism: '...je inkommensurabler und für den Verstand unfasslicher eine poetische Produktion ist, desto besser'.¹ (Actually this quotation fits neither Liliencron's nor Bierbaum's verse, which is never

¹ Eckermann, Vol. 3, 6 May 1827.

baffling; but it is literally Stefan George's doctrine, and would serve for cosmic impressionists such as Mombert and Däubler.) In the poem itself Liliencron declares that he has read pretty well nothing but Goethe for the last ten years; and he wishes he could force all the modern 'Kritiker' with their 'Professorendunkel' to read Goethe an hour a day—all those who are horrified by Goethe's '...Jugendlieder,/Diese schönsten auf der Erde'. There is, however, some censure of Goethe as at least a 'Halbbürger' at the end of the long epistle to Richard Dehmel in the same volume: 'der Dichter muss im Sonnenlande wohnen, dass er ungeknechtet leben, lieben, schaffen kann! So wohnte Goethe; und hat nicht selbst er noch zu viel, wie tief bedauere ich das, noch viel zu viel sich binden müssen.' In *Der Haidegänger*, on the other hand (*Kampf und Spiele*), German Philistines are told to keep away from literature—'Die geht über euern Schnüffolgeist'—if they could, they would burn Goethe at the stake, because he was 'unsittlich'. In his poem *An Goethe (Kämpfe und Ziele)*, which he heads with Peter Hille's distich quoted above, Liliencron blames the common herd for the necessity of Goethe's restraint, and plays with that pathological interpretation of poets which medical science was at that time bringing into vogue: 'Jeder wahre Dichter/Hat einen Stich ins Krankhafte;/Du, Grösster,/Warst ganz gesund.../Dich lieben sie nicht,/Weil du zu frisch, zu natürlich,/Zu wahr und offen bist.' There is a curious variant of the restraint theme in *Goethe und der Affe (Nebel und Sonne)*: the poet watches a monkey with forepaw on lips before a bust of Goethe, bidding restraint. The lesson is: 'Des Lebens beste Vorsicht heisst Schweigen.../Und doch, und doch, hätte Goethe geschwiegen,/Hätt er sich nie die Lippen verbrannt,/Er wär nicht die goldnen Stufen gestiegen,/Mit leuchtenden Spuren herabgestiegen/In unser nüchternes Schulmeisterland.' What Liliencron means by burning his lips is clear from the apostrophe to the poet ('Goethe, du Prachtker!') in *Über ein Knicktor gelehnt (Kämpfe und Ziele)*: when Goethe wrote certain lines in *Römische Elegien* he was obviously forgetting that German *belles lettres* are sternly censored by mothers of families and Philistines.¹ Liliencron is at one with the poets of his period in blaming Goethe (*Aus Marsch und Geist*, p. 193) for hostility to Heinrich von Kleist; this is indeed one of the main charges against Goethe in this period. It is stressed in Dehmel's *Naivetät und Genie*, an imaginary conversation (in *Betrachtungen*) between Dehmel and Goethe on Schiller's conception of *Naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*. Dehmel's arguments make the old gentleman wince (he buttons and

¹ See Eckermann, Vol. 1, 25 February 1824.

unbuttons his greatcoat, recovers aplomb by thrusting his hand into the coat in Napoleon's attitude, etc.), but in the end the old poet is more or less convinced¹ that a better division of poets, as of men, would be into 'naiv-brutal' (e.g. Liliencron) and *raffiniert*. (Achilles would be a clear example of the first class, Ulysses of the second.) 'Raffiniert' of course has various meanings: 'abgefeimt', 'durchtrieben', 'gerieben' as well as 'geläutert', 'abgeklärt'. Dehmel's argument tends to derogation of *naiv* in Schiller's sense: for Dehmel it may mean 'seelische Dumpfheit' as contrasted with 'geistige Erleuchtung' (Dehmel himself is implied); and the conclusion is that 'geistige Reflexion' is 'die formbestimmende Triebkraft', which should mean that Schiller is greater than Goethe and Dehmel greater than Liliencron—except that Dehmel chivalrously claims the power of reflexion for his friend (he pondered his apparently artless poem *Betrunken* for ten years, he reveals). The dialogue is curious because, as the ghost pompously remarks, Dehmel talks in Goethe's later prose style. Dehmel's appreciation of Goethe is here cool and more or less sarcastic, and references in his poems are apt to be humorous ('Radlers Seligkeit', 'Strassburger Münster'); but here and there he pays high tribute, e.g. in his essay *Kunst und Volk (Betrachtungen)*: '...man spreche von...Helena, Faust...: und ein Schauder gläubiger Einbildungskraft wird auch den Geist des geistig Armen mit Bildern schicksalreichsten Lebens, Gestalten vollkommener Menschheit füllen.' *Die Erweckung des Herrschers in Aber die Liebe* is modelled on the exorcism of the Erdgeist. Dehmel's most suggestive contribution to the interpretation of Goethe is in his long essay *Tragik und Drama*. Here in common with the naturalists he flouts the academic conception of the 'hard-boiled' tragic hero who wilfully rushes to destruction; tragedy to-day, he argues, is still a matter of fate; not, however, a fate decreed by impossible gods, but the fate that heredity has laid to ripen in our blood.² Goethe, not Schiller, conceived the modern type of hero. his 'tragisch angehauchte, lyrisch ersterbende Stimmungshelden' (Clavigo, Fernando, Egmont, Tasso) are the ancestors of Ibsen's pathological weaklings (Oswald in *Ghosts*), as of Gerhart Hauptmann's Johannes (in *Einsame Menschen*) and bell-founder Heinrich. The most fascinating type of the 'Stimmungsheld' is Heinrich von Kleist's Prinz von Homburg: not because he overcomes his weakness, but because he *is* weak—that is, modern. Moreover, the character is the study of a modern man in all his

¹ Goethe's frank opinion is recorded by Eckermann, 14 November 1823.

² Goethe, in a conversation with Eckermann (March 1832), agreed that the Greek conception of fate is impossible in a modern play.

complication of nerves: it is a self-portrait of Kleist himself, of 'der seelisch zerrissene Dichter'. And Goethe's hostility to Kleist was due to his lack of comprehension of the poet's demonic nature; this was only possible because Goethe had tamed his own demon.¹ There is modernity, too, in Goethe's use of the mystery play for a subtle interpretation of life. *Faust* points the way to *Peer Gynt*, *Und Pippa tanzt*, and those mystery plays of our own day which are part and parcel of our better dramaturgy.

What the average educated German is expected to think of Goethe emerges from Hermann Hesse's *Eine Bibliothek der Weltliteratur* (Reclam, 1929). Schiller, he says, is not necessary; Goethe is, though our conception of him has changed. Hesse acknowledges (p. 41) that his own ear for rhythm and his sense of language were schooled on Goethe; moreover, as a youth he collected all he could lay his hands on concerning the poet and his life. In his Novelle *Im Presselschen Gartenhaus* Hesse, by implication, very finely contrasts Goethe as the poet who controls his impulses with Waiblinger as the type of the passionate vagabond poet whose end is bound to be that which Goethe so sternly deplored in the case of Günther. But the contrast is double: the discussion is between Waiblinger and Mörike in their student days at Tübingen in the presence of Hölderlin in his pathetic madness—another poet who had lost control and come to a tragic end. Mörike realizes that Waiblinger is too weak for Goethe's self-mastery; we see him facing his own problems, and we know that he will survive, but only by the sacrifice of the best that is in him.² And this is the problem of the poet's personality as the period sees it: there is *safety* in respectable living; but how can a poet be respectable? A true poet must be as Hölderlin was, or Kleist (it is strange how insistently these two poets are considered as the perfect types): and how *can* such a poet be a bourgeois? Thomas Mann, of course, finds his solution—that of Gottfried Keller, that of Goethe himself—in the sacrifice of self, and if need be of poetry, to duty; but Thomas Mann can only justify his finding by his tragic demonstration of decay by culture.

It is just on this contrast of the true poet as a rebel to convention and the false poet as a slave to it that expressionism fastens for certain of its sensational effects. The upshot is that we get a dual interpretation of

¹ Goethe, of course, had a more mysterious idea of *das Dämonische*. Stefan Zweig's studies of Kleist, Hölderlin, and Nietzsche have the collective title *Der Kampf mit dem Dämon* (1925).

² This is the burden, too, of a Novelle, *Der Dichter und die Welt*, by the 'Charontiker' Karl Röttger: no true poet will be understood by a Philistine world; Goethe and Schiller, yes; but not Hölderlin and Brentano. And therefore: 'Wir wollen kein neues Weimar erschaffen und auch keinen Jenaer Kreis.'

• Goethe as (1) 'Künstler', and (2) 'Bürger'. A 'Künstler', we are given to understand, is confronted with *l'embarras du choix*: Thomas Mann tells him that if he could only be a 'Bürger' he would be saved and happy; the expressionists say that no 'Künstler' can truckle to the ways of the 'Bürger', and the 'Künstler' will be damned in any case—the 'Bürger' will see to that.

We can watch this 'Kontrastwirkung' taking shape from naturalism onwards. Actually it had been invented by Goethe himself: it is the very essence of his dichotomy or splitting of his own personality into two opposites (Tasso-Antonio, etc.). It is helped by the vogue of the 'Künstler-romane' (Walther Siegfried's *Tino Moralt*, etc.) and 'Künstlernovellen' which directly continue Keller's *Der grüne Heinrich* and more indirectly *Wilhelm Meister*. In these the tendency is to the pessimistic pathological conception of the artist doomed by his nerves; and for this conception there was a biographical base not only in the contemporary investigations of the psychiatrists but also in the careers of famous artists such as Scheffel's friend Anselm Feuerbach, whose diary *Ein Vermächtnis* (1882) was much read. Feuerbach, like Tino Moralt, was a painter who turned to writing; like the hero of Thomas Mann's *Tod in Venedig* he was affected by the morbidity of Venice. The acceptance by the artist of the Philistine's existence is the theme of Hermann Hesse's *Peter Camenzind* (1904); but it was left for Thomas Mann to show that the artist is doomed because by his very artistry he is a decayed specimen of humanity. If Thomas Mann's line of attack is physiological, that of Paul Bourget in *Le Disciple* (1889), a novel which undoubtedly influenced the rejection in the German novel of the too highly developed artist, is psychological and finely analytical. The hero is an *épicurien raffiné*, whose moral disintegration is proved to be due to the refinement of his nerves and the ghastly modernity of his beliefs.¹ His opposite is an officer whom Bourget in his preface ranges with 'la brave classe moyenne, la solide et vaillante bourgeoisie'; and he stresses the contrast with Maurice Barrès' self-worshipping hero (the German 'Ich-Anbetung' of the aesthetes derives partly at least from Maurice Barrès, though Nietzsche's 'culte du moi' also comes in). Certainly Bourget's analysis of the *détraquement nerveux* of his hero has analogies with Thomas Mann's conception of the artist.

¹ The theme of the book is curiously similar to *Forforarens Dagbog* ('Diary of a Seducer,' a section of *Enten-Eller*) by Kierkegaard, another foreign writer who influenced the expressionists—directly, and indirectly through Strindberg, who rejected Goethe when, as a disciple of Kierkegaard, he was confronted with the necessity of choosing between the 'Either' of the aesthetic life and the 'Or' of the ethical life. The seducer's diary is Kierkegaard's final proof that aesthetic hedonism destroys conscience and morality.

Bourget expressly mentions Goethe as an ideal: his *épicurien raffiné* is morbidly conscious of having that double nature (*dédoublement*) which we associate with Goethe, and he feels the desire of correcting his extreme intellectualism by turning to practical life, as Goethe himself had done. In Germany this ideal could hardly be accepted at a time when Wedekind¹ was pillorying the bourgeois as a moral monster. It was left to Wedekind's most consistent disciple, Carl Sternheim, to bring both the anti-bourgeois and the anti-Goethe movement to a climax. His final reckoning with the bourgeois is in *Berlin oder Juste Milieu* (1920); the theme is continued in *Tasso oder Kunst des Juste Milieu* (1921), in which literature is shown to be a glaringly automatic and disgraceful acceptance of dictated beliefs bound up with the supine acceptance of moral concepts of duty by the common bourgeois. The tractate is exasperating; not so much by reason of its argument—which, as satire, could be stomached—but because of its affected style, Sternheim at his twisted worst. Goethe heads the list of criminals: he is shown forth as the awful example of a 'Bürger-Dichter' deliberately choosing, not the undimmed brilliance of beauty or the raw nakedness of truth, but the discreetly shaded *juste milieu* which has no shock or thrill for vibrant nerves. The attack begins with a withering reference to Gundolf's *Goethe*, which had just crashed on to the critic's table,² one of seven stupendous books on Goethe in one week; this cult of Goethe, Sternheim says, is incredible in days when the cruelty of war has been brought home to everyone; for Goethe saw battle-fields and packed his nerves in wadding.³ Terrible terms fall thick as hail: 'Kadavergehorsam'; 'Wachtparade vor dem Unabänderlichen'; 'Goethes innigere Vertiefung in Vorhandenes'; 'seine kritiklose Unterwerfung'; 'belämmerte tüchtige Werkätigkeit'. And Goethe is totally rejected because he sententiously disproves Tasso's natural poet's creed: 'Erlaubt ist, was gefällt', and approves the 'seichte Mässigung des juste Milieu' in the terms of: 'Erlaubt ist, was sich ziemt.' What we have here is intended to be a final verdict in the dispute whether Goethe's restraint was wisdom or folly: it is far worse than folly, it is 'bodenlose Feigheit'. This will give academic students of Goethe a cold shudder; and indeed the verdict is only intelligible in the light of the expressionists' conception of what a poet is. For the expressionists the unspoiled poets of the Germans are Hölderlin, Kleist, and Büchner (some would add Brentano)—poets

¹ Wedekind takes the Faust theme in *Franziska* (1911) and drags it through the mud. In *Der Stein des Weisen* (1909) he parodies the opening scenes of *Faust I* with some metrical skill.

² Actually the book had appeared five years before (1916).

³ Nevertheless, *Der feldgraue Goethe*, published in 1915, was immensely popular.

at the opposite pole of the bourgeois, poets who die for poetry. What Goethe on the other hand did with his precious life is shown by giving a quotation from his diary: 11 to 18 July 1776, which ends with 'Diarrhöe die Nacht hindurch'. How *could* such a bourgeois understand Kleist? And this attitude to Kleist, the charge continues, is actually what informs the historians of literature: they say of the Prinz von Homburg: '...Todesnähe bringt ihm das wahre Leben sittlicher Notwendigkeit im Kunstwerk! nach'. And what happened to Heine, 'dem einzigen Aufrührer dieses eingeseiften Jahrhunderts', 'als er endlich den tönernen Goethe anrumpelte'? Much sarcasm is then poured on the academic elevation of Hebbel and the irreality of academic criticism; here Sternheim follows up Dehmel's rejection of the Aristotelian hero. At the end of the nineteenth century, we are told, it had seemed as if Goethe's 'Leben und Lebenlassen' was threatened by Nietzsche, and as if the Germans had discovered, 'an des gemütlichen Tasso Stelle', a brutal egoism which they would make up their mind to call moral, instead of, as hitherto, criminal. But then Ibsen had come, and Bjørnsen, who also belonged to the 'juste Milieu'....¹

It will be seen that what Sternheim particularly objects to in Goethe is his morality. And yet Goethe is so manifold that Liliencron could quote passages from him (as mottoes in *Nebel und Sonne*) to justify the poetic 'Amoralismus' of the impressionists—

Und so schnurrt denn durch die ganze, halb wahre Philisterleierkastenmelodie, dass die Kunst die Moralgesetze anerkennen und sich ihnen unterordnen soll. Das erste hat sie immer getan und muss sie tun—tate sie das zweite, so wäre sie verloren, und es wäre besser, man hänge ihr einen Muhlstein um den Hals und ertränke sie, als dass man sie langsam durch das Nutzlich-Flache krepieren liesse.

This apparent 'Immoralismus', Liliencron argues, proves him to be a modern in every fibre; and *Römische Elegien* gives the measure of his modernity.

This discussion of Goethe's 'Geniemoral' goes back to Jacobi, who pretty nearly called *Wilhelm Meister* a dirty book; he was answered by Schiller, who explained the immorality of the book as organic, and therefore aesthetic. Eduard von Hartmann, in his *Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins* deals in a special chapter with Goethe as the representative of 'Geschmacksmoral':² he regards

¹ The very idea of 'le juste milieu'—the problem of accommodation or resistance—had been the inspiration of the book Barbey d'Aurevilly wrote during the siege of Paris 'to demolish Goethe'. 'Pour Goethe toute l'éthique consistait dans ce mot: *s'adapter*. Toute l'éthique de Barbey se résumait dans cet autre mot: *résister*' (Paul Bourget: *Pages de critique et de doctrine*.)

² Discussed by Schiller in *Über den moralischen Nutzen ästhetischer Sitten* and *Über die notwendigen Grenzen beim Gebrauch schöner Formen*.

Wilhelm Meister as the gospel of human life conceived as a work of art.[•] He says:

Es ist in der Tat ein selbstloses ideales Interesse, welches dieser herrliche Gedanke erweckt, nicht im Gegensatz zu der Natur, sondern aus der kerngesunden Natur heraus erwacht diese Sittlichkeit, und doch erhebt sie sich über die Natur, indem sie dieselbe ins Ideale verklärt, indem sie den natürlichen Menschen zum Ideal der schönen Menschheit emporlautert.

There is a danger, Hartmann continues, that this aesthetic morality, concentrated as it is on the depiction as well as the perfection of self, may sacrifice the inner worth of a man to the artistic image of him. (Many would hold that this is true of Stefan George.) Hartmann no doubt is wrong in regarding *Wilhelm Meister* as a deliberate ideal self-portrait of Goethe: *Wilhelm Meister* is only one side of Goethe. Schiller's final verdict on *Wilhelm Meister* is the true one: 'er tritt von einem leeren und unbestimmten Ideal in ein bestimmtes tätiges Leben, aber ohne die idealisierende Kraft dabei einzubüssen';¹ that is, *Wilhelm Meister* ends by being a 'Künstler-Bürger', a blend the possibility of which is in our period denied.

Soergel (*Im Banne des Expressionismus*, p. 304) yokes Max Herrmann-Neisse with Sternheim as leaders of the anti-Goethe gang. I have Max Herrmann-Neisse's authority for saying that he is now and always has been a Goethianer, and that all he did was to write an approving review of Sternheim's tractate, particularly as being in the spirit of Börne, whose attack on established institutions was an inspiration to the 'Aktivisten' and to the circle round Alfred Kerr; to them Goethe was no more than a symbol—the real quarry was *Wilhelmus*.

The charge against Goethe of political passivity² is of course also an old one, and it is rare that we get so outright an approval of it as that of Luise von François, who said: 'Der Nationalitätenhass ist vandalisch und eigentlich antideutsch. Hat denn Goethe, dieser urdeutsche Kosmopolit, ganz vergeblich gelebt?' For her, 'nationality is an 'überwundener Standpunkt'. Ellen Key, too, in her essay *Die Kunst und der Nationalismus* (in *Persönlichkeit und Schönheit*), deals with Goethe's attitude and approves statements of Goethe such as: 'Der Dichter schwebt wie ein freiblickender Adler über allen Ländern, und ob die Beute, auf die er herabschiesst, in dem einen oder anderen herumläuft, ist ihm gleichgültig...' — 'Es gibt keine patriotische Kunst und keine patriotische Wissenschaft...' ³ In Nazi terminology, of course, this is equivalent to being

¹ Schiller's letter to Goethe, 8 July 1796.

² See Eckermann, Vol. 3, 14 March 1930.

³ Freely quoted from Eckermann, 2nd entry, 1932, which is a clear statement of Goethe's attitude.

'volksfremd'. Hans Grimm calls every poet to battle and brands Goethe's 'Selig wer sich vor der Welt ohne Hass verschliesst' as a sentiment alien to the needs of to-day. H. F. Blunck, on the other hand, in his long poem *Erfurt 1808*, which blends the two meetings of poet and emperor, manages to read deep national feeling and prophetic vision into the sagacious reticence of the Weimar statesman, and finds that *Vorlä un homme!* is insufficient praise.

A list of recent writers in whose prose style Goethe's rhythms can be detected would be a long one. Nietzsche only sloughed Goethe's style and took to aphorism when his health broke for good. Hermann Hesse, as we have seen, acknowledges his model. Ricarda Huch's early prose has Goethe's cadences. It is known that Thomas Mann deliberately adapted the style of *Der Tod in Venedig* to that of *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*. On the other hand, Rudolf Borchardt, the most elaborately refined stylist of the day, in his quest for models for a new national style, rejects Goethe—because 'he is more near to us than those poets who think they are alive; he was sitting just now in our chair—we have seen him pass through the door there—no one believes he is dead'. ('Nachwort' to *Das Buch Joram*, 1907.) By this Borchardt means that Goethe's style is not archaic, and his somewhat strange idea is that a national style must be archaic—like that of the Bible; Hofmannsthal, therefore, in reaching back beyond Goethe to Hans Sachs's language, set in motion one of the great events of recent intellectual life.

Perhaps the surest proof of the continuous influence of Goethe would be afforded by a list of what historians of literature call 'Goethesche Nachklänge' in individual poets. But deliberate imitation is often difficult to establish. We know that Heine's *Du hast Diamanten und Perlen* intentionally echoes Goethe's *Nachtgesang*; but by textual evidence alone both poets might have echoed an Italian refrain. What we do get is usually more in the nature of memories that 'remain like a perfume in the brain'; thus we cannot read Ferdinand von Saar's *Herbst* without hearing *Über allen Gipfeln* as an undertone. We may be expected to catch the imitation where the palimpsest treatment is deliberate; as in Otto Ernst's *Der Erbe*, in which the father lifts violin to chin and conjures up in his child's fancy the mystic magic of *Der Erlkönig*. A careful collection of such echoes, voluntary and involuntary, would probably disprove R. M. Meyer's statement (*Die deutsche Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*) that Goethe's influence on the lyric of the period under review is slight. He is probably more happy in his remark that the 'passionate half nonsense' of *Wanderers Sturmbied*—and certainly this poem is

clearly expressionist in conception and execution—finds an echo in the cumulative (*Nebeneinander*) structure of so many modern lyrics, although the more likely model is the cool total nonsense of Maeterlinck's *Serres chaudes* and similar 'Lazarett-poesie' (the method is most effective in the expressionist *Grotesken* of Alfred Lichtenstein and Jakob Haringer). Whether Goethe's free rhythms come into the picture is dubious; for free rhythms are continuous from Goethe and Heine and are skilfully handled by transitional poets such as Ferdinand von Saar as well as by Liliencron, whose *Betrunknen* was hailed by Arno Holz as an iconoclastic innovation. Actually Liliencron in this poem merely imparts an air of modernity to the traditional genre of unrhymed verse in short lines of varying length by vulgarizing theme and diction. Wilhelm Arent calls his free rhythms imitations of his favourite poet Lenz. It might perhaps be proved that the popularity of free rhythms in the period of naturalism—the Harts were fond of them—is due to the irrepressible worship of 'der junge Goethe'. Hexameters and distiches can only be nailed down as imitations of Goethe—or Schiller!—in cases where there is textual evidence of the model, as in Dehmel's *Deutsches Tun* (*Erlösungen*). Ferdinand von Saar's *Wiener Elegien* (1893) are modelled on the *Römische Elegien*, though the mood is transformed.

The never-dying love of Goethe is proved, too, by the long series of novels and tales in which he appears episodically or plays a part as a character. We find him even in novels other than German: e.g. in André Theuriot's *La Chanoinesse*, of which *Die Campagne in Frankreich* is a source. In recent German fiction the series (Toni Schwabe's *Ulrike*, Kolbenheyer's *Karlsbader Novelle*, etc.) ends (for the present) gloriously with Thomas Mann's *Lotte in Weimar*.

And therefore: now as ever 'Goethe und kein Ende!'

J. BITHELL.

PENZANCE.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

A NEWLY-DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPT OF THE C-TEXT OF 'PIERS PLOWMAN'

The following is a description of a manuscript of the C-text of *Piers Plowman* in the possession of Sir Louis Sterling, which, through his kindness, I was able to examine and, in part, to collate with all the other manuscripts of the C-text. It is mentioned in a catalogue of Sir Louis Sterling's library in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 February 1939. The manuscript is written on vellum in a large clear hand. It consists of 114 leaves, each page measuring $14\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ inches and containing, on an average, 37 lines. There are a few spots of stain, none of them interfering with legibility, and some blots on folios 41*b* and 42*a*, but apart from this the manuscript is in excellent condition. There is an illuminated initial with painted decorations at the beginning. Initial letters of *passus* are in blue, surrounded and filled by a red design extending about 2 inches up and down the margin. The caesura is not marked. Each line begins with a capital letter. Latin quotations, colophons and proper names are in red ink in the same hand.

There are a few unimportant jottings in a sixteenth-century hand. The name *Richard Hodgson* appears at the bottom of folio 4*a* in an early sixteenth-century hand.

Piers Plowman is contained in folios 1–97*b*, ending about one-third of the way down folio 97*b*. About a third of the page is left blank, and then, about two-thirds of the way down, in the same hand and in double column, are some verses beginning:

Sum while i was with synne ibounde
And synne me hap icaste to grounde
But suete *iesus* py suete woundes
Lesed me hap of harde stoundes

and ending on folio 114*b*:

But gawe blyue m to pe dale
And wyte pe sope of pis tale
Bat he hap vs here I seyde
For hit was in pe tumbre yleyde.

These verses have been identified by Professor J. E. Wells as *La Estorie del Evangelie*.¹

¹ See *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, pp. 324 and 813, sec. 69; Carleton Brown, *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, vol. II, Item 2063.

Piers Plowman breaks off imperfect at c. xxiii, 87:

Largelyche a legyoun lees þe lyf sone. Amen.

The manuscript is closely related to V (D. 4. 1. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin). The two manuscripts are so closely related that there cannot be many copyings separating them from each other and from the archetype, and they may even be transcripts of the same original. The handwritings are contemporary, probably belonging to about the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Of the history of the manuscript before it came into the possession of Sir Louis Sterling nothing appears to be known.

The following selection of errors common to both manuscripts shows their affinity:

Imperfect ending at c. xxiii, 87; walking Prologue 11; Iugunen Prol. 136; overhopped Prol. 169; omission of Prol. 186-7; louynge II, 55; hy houted out II, 228; on tþþyng III, 87; spille III, 141.

The manuscript will be known as 'A'.

A. G. MITCHELL.

SYDNEY.

PROFESSOR G. C. MOORE SMITH, F.B.A.

With the death of Professor Moore Smith passes the third and last of a great generation of editors of the *Modern Language Review*, for he survived his colleagues John G. Robertson and Edmund Gardner by some years, though he gave up his editorship of the English section of the *Review* twelve years ago.

No one who undertook his office could escape a sense of inadequacy, for to his high and exact scholarship Moore Smith added the most scrupulous conscience and thoroughness in his editorial duties. It was the only occasion on which the successor whom he chose ever had reason to question his judgement. Yet that successor was strengthened by a long-admired example, and helped by the universal good-will of his fellow-scholars, a heritage indeed.

Moore Smith could be a keen critic. But it was his especial function, it would seem, to encourage and to assist young scholars. And he gave of himself lavishly. He was always more jealous for the reputation of his fellows in scholarship than for his own, and I can recall no other subject upon which his temperature was apt to rise. So his editorship brought to the *Review* much notable work both by his friends among the elder scholars and by his younger colleagues who owed so much to him.

For the rest, the truest account of Moore Smith could only be written by one who knew him both as a faithful son of Cambridge and as one of the makers of the University of Sheffield, the two Universities which shared the devotion of a man much given to high loyalties. Such an account follows here, a tribute from his friend Professor Potter, written during days of especial stress, who speaks with knowledge and understanding.

C. J. Sisson, *General Editor*.

George Charles Moore Smith, who died on 7 November 1940, at the age of 82, was the son of George Moore Smith, a Cambridgeshire solicitor, and the grandson of Captain Charles Smith, who, with his brother Lieut.-General Sir Harry Smith, Bart., G.C.B., was present at the battle of Waterloo. From Tonbridge School, where he received his early education, he obtained an Exhibition at St John's College, Cambridge, in 1877, becoming a pupil of J. E. (later Sir John) Sandys. In 1881, he was placed tenth in the Classical Tripos, and he remained for a further three years as a Foundation Scholar at St John's.

Attracted to English studies by Walter Skeat, whose classes he attended, Moore Smith proceeded to the University of Berlin, where he entered the seminar of Professor Zupitza. On his return to England, he was employed for a time as a Cambridge University Extension Lecturer; but he continued his connexion with Germany by lecturing at various holiday courses there. In 1896, he was appointed Professor of English Language and Literature at the Firth College (later University College), Sheffield. This chair he continued to occupy from the foundation of the University of Sheffield in 1905 until his retirement in 1924. A bachelor, he resided with his sisters in Sheffield until his death.

His affection for his two universities never languished. To Cambridge, where he proceeded to the degree of Litt.D. in 1907, he was a frequent visitor, a welcome guest at the high table of his old college during almost every Long Vacation; and he would return to Sheffield laden with books acquired by purchase and donation for the new University Library of which he was honorary librarian from 1896 to 1907. Academic loyalty meant much to him; he never spared himself if any service to college or university was possible, and to the end of his life he was eagerly appreciative of tidings concerning the welfare of the societies of which he was a member.

The daily routine of teaching and administration necessarily filled most of his days, for in addition to such offices as Dean of the Faculty of Arts,

he represented the University of Sheffield on a large number of committees, societies, and Governing Bodies, giving highly valued counsel and advice to all of them. The interests of his students, both at the university and afterwards, were his constant care; he founded the university magazine *Floreamus* (later *Arrows*), and during the war of 1914-18 compiled a careful record of the services of members of the university, with most of whom he had corresponded regularly. Honours came to him from many sides—an honorary Ph.D. from Louvain in 1909, honorary LL.D. from St Andrew's in 1923, honorary Litt.D. from Sheffield soon after his retirement; he was elected an honorary fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, and a Fellow of the British Academy in 1933.

Moore Smith's books consisted for the most part of editions of poems and plays, particularly of plays acted at Cambridge, of which he wrote a careful account in 1923—*College Plays performed in the University of Cambridge*. He also edited the *Autobiography* of Sir Harry Smith, the *Life of Lord Seaton*, the *Letters* of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple, the *Poems* of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the *Marginalia* of Gabriel Harvey.

In addition to his books, there is a very long list of articles, reviews, and short notices in this *Review*, *Notes and Queries*, *English Historical Review*, *Times Literary Supplement* and elsewhere, most of which were collected in the bibliography of his writings that was presented to him on his seventieth birthday in 1928. His services as editor of the English section of this *Review* between 1915 and 1927 came at a critical juncture, and he did much to shape the lines of policy that have since been followed. Upon his longer reviews he bestowed immense pains, and in very many cases added contributions of substantial and original value to the work with which he was dealing. As an editor he was infinitely careful and considerate; his knowledge of our seventeenth-century literature seemed inexhaustible, and it was always at the service of students and enquirers.

In spite of the claims of research and lecturing, he was not remote from the practical needs of his fellow-men, and devoted a considerable amount of time and interest to more than one Sheffield 'settlement'.

A man of great modesty and singular charm, an admirable conversationalist, Moore Smith lived the austere and self-effacing life of a scholar and teacher, and he will long be remembered with affection by his many pupils and friends.

G. R. POTTER.

SHEFFIELD.

REVIEWS

The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature. Edited by F. W. BATESON. Cambridge: University Press. 1940. 4 volumes. xxxviii + 912, xviii + 1003, xix + 1098, 287 pp. £7. 7s. 0d.

The appearance of this monumental work is a happy portent. In the very heat and danger of total war, in which lies fight truth, scholarship is contemned or prostituted by the enemy, and the gains of two thousand years are threatened, a great University Press completes, and places on printed record, a vast survey on a heroic scale of past endeavour and achievement in one great field of human history. The sum of that endeavour may be measured by the serried, concise ranks of entries on almost three thousand large pages, with nearly three hundred pages of index.

All who see and use this book will appreciate more fully the example set during the last twenty years by the invaluable *Annual Bibliography of English Literature*, published by the Modern Humanities Research Association. The volumes of this publication should take their place on the shelf alongside this collected *Bibliography*, to which they will provide annual supplements of equal authority.

The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature adds one more great book to the list of major works of corporate scholarship which we owe to the Cambridge University Press. It has been generously conceived, in the highest traditions of a University Press, and executed with all the resources and craftsmanship of a great printing-house. The volumes are heavy but not unwieldy. The pages are packed, but not crowded. And the type is clear and legible. The paper is thin and tough, and a thicker paper has been used for the Index volume which makes it easier to use, a good example of practical foresight. The Index is full and complete within its necessary limits.

All who have used the *Cambridge History of English Literature* welcomed its bibliographies, and all who were competent to judge were aware of their inequalities. Not all scholars are bibliographers, in any sense of the word. The truth is that many a distinguished contributor was impatient of bibliographical endeavour. So the original project of an enlarged revision of the bibliographies in the *Cambridge History*, chapter by chapter, as a supplement to that work, of necessity gave way to a complete fresh architectural project, no longer ancillary to the *Cambridge History* but a second and complementary structure, though some of the original bibliographical sections survive in it in a revised form.

The *Bibliography* follows the *History* in plan, in so far as it had adopted chronological order for its entries, within the main successive periods into which our literature falls, and within the framework of sectional divisions. There can be no question that, though this system

has its problems and inconveniences, it is greatly preferable to the alternatives of a *Dictionary of National Bibliography* or *Bibliographical Encyclopaedia*.

Mr F. W. Bateson, the director of this vast exploration and of the reports of his explorers, has faced his problems and reached his compromises with decision and skill. I do not find any major complaint on which to join issue with his execution of a great task. And he gathered round him a body of collaborators in which most of those are numbered who in this country are competent in such work, together with a fair sprinkling of American scholars of distinction.

I should myself have greatly desired that the names of printers might have been added in entries covering the earlier period of printing, e.g. the period covered in the *Short-Title Catalogue*. There are often significances in this information that go beyond the mechanics of book-production. The information is, in fact, given in respect of original editions of Shakespeare, doubtless for this reason. Economy of space, of course, had to be considered, and I should have sacrificed willingly frequent fullness in the transcription of title-pages in other respects. There is some want of consistency in this matter, and it seems to be partly due to survivals from the original *Cambridge History* bibliographies, e.g. in the section 'The Puritan Attack upon the Stage', Vol. I, pp. 507 ff.

So also I should have rejoiced if it had been possible to record at least original manuscripts beyond the date, 1500, fixed by the editor. On the other hand it is good to observe that the relevant manuscript sources have been given in respect, e.g., of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays not in print or only recently printed.

I do not envy Mr Bateson the decision necessary for writers whose work is literary only in part. But bibliography is bibliography, and Mr Bateson has printed a complete list of the mathematical works of Mr Dodgson which, legend says, were gratefully commanded by Queen Victoria, in token of her enjoyment of Mr Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*.

The very difficult problem of recording new editions as distinct from re-issues was present in the editor's mind, and must have exercised him greatly (Vol. I, p. vii, note 1). For it is certain to any student of sixteenth and seventeenth century books that the practice of re-issuing unsold sheets with a new title-page was very frequent. So it was, for example, with Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, or, as the *Bibliography* observes (Vol. I, p. 686), in part and in respect of some of the editions, with Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Here the names of the printers concerned would have partly told the true story.

Among other things, the very considerable amount of cross-reference involved in the plan of the work necessitated the most watchful care in the preparation of the copy and in proof-reading. Altogether, the mechanics of the book presented a formidable task. Mr Bateson and

the Press are to be congratulated on their achievement in this respect, as in others.

The final judgement upon this very important publication rests with the jury of scholars and students, who will come to their conclusions in the process of making use of this new instrument of study. Mr Bateson makes high claims for it and for his collaborators, and with justice. The judgement may be awaited with equanimity and with confidence upon the work as a whole. Errors of detail are inevitable, and will emerge and be set right in a later edition, e.g. Elyot's *Defence of Good Women* was first printed in 1540 (not 1545, the date of a second edition).

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

The Old Germanic Principles of Name-giving. By HENRY BOSLEY WOOLF. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1939. xii + 300 pp. \$4.00.

An exact and complete *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* is still a major desideratum in Old English studies. Dr Woolf's book is therefore most welcome. His survey extends to all the Germanic peoples, West, North and East, but Anglo-Saxon names, for which the material is relatively abundant, have pride of place and they fill the first and larger part of the volume. In both parts the genealogical tables, clear and accurate, are of great value to the historian as well as to the onomatologist. For every name in these tables the sources are stated: runic inscriptions, the Chronicles, Bede, Asser, Ethelwerd, Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham, charters, wills and *vitae* for the Anglo-Saxons; and for the other Germanic nations, mainly Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Paul the Deacon and Snorri Sturluson. The aim of this investigation is to ascertain, as thoroughly as extant monuments permit, the naming-customs of the Germanic peoples during the period of migrations. Both the settlers in England and their Continental kinsmen 'followed certain well-defined principles of naming, the chief of which were alliteration, variation and repetition'.

Alliteration was general throughout the period. Even in the most ancient genealogy surviving, that of the chieftain Arminius and his first-century kinsmen, it is manifest, and as a custom it prevailed for a millennium, closely bound with the basic structure of the old poetry, that family names might be handed down in the traditional pattern of commemorative verse. Vocalic alliteration was commonest. It was frequent among the Swedes of *Beowulf* and the *Ynglinga saga*, among families in East Anglia, Kent, Bernicia, Deira and, after the middle of the eighth century, in Wessex. Over seventy known descendants of Ecgbeorht had names beginning with vowels. Of all the Anglo-Saxon dynasties, the East Saxons achieved the most consistent alliterative pattern. Their commonest initial name-theme was *Sige-*, even as *Os-* was

characteristic for Bernicia, *Eormen-* and *Æðel-* for Kent, and *Æðel*, *Ead-*, and *Ælf-* for Wessex. In Wessex every contemporary custom in name-giving was illustrated. 'Ælfred's ancestors and descendants have names that run the gamut of Old English nomenclature.'

Although monothematic names like *Horsa* and *Hild* were given to children at all times within the period under survey, especially in the earlier centuries, the typical name consisted of two themes. 'Variation' implied the change of one only of a parent's or a relative's name to form a new name. It might be single, variation of the first element, as in *Eadgar* and *Wihthgar*, or of the second element, as in *Eadgar* and *Eadmund*. Or it might be double. Thus the famous preacher *Wulfstan*, Bishop of Worcester, derived the first part of his name from his mother *Wulfifu* and the final theme from his father *Æðelstan*, and this particular 'double variation' was recognized as such and commented upon by William of Malmesbury. Woolf inclines to agree with Mats Redin and Axel Olrik in regarding variation as even older than alliteration as a name-giving custom, 'for alliteration is definitely Germanic in origin and variation may well go back to pre-Germanic times.' Initial and final variations were practised both in England and on the Continent, some tribes showing a slight preference for the one or the other. The East Anglians, the Merovingians, and the Gothic Amalings, the Vandals and the Varni, for example, showed a predilection for initial change; the East Saxons, the men of Kent and the Burgundians liked final variation. An initial theme might locate a man's tribe. A *Dagobert* would most likely be a Merovingian, a *Sigebeorht* an Essex man.

Like variation, only more so, 'repetition' may have originated in a belief in metempsychosis and hence that widespread practice of repetition in alternate generations. The earliest recorded instance is that of the two Inglingas named *Eiríkr*, great-uncle and grand-nephew, in the fourth and fifth centuries. Among Continental peoples repetition was customary centuries before it was adopted here in England. Here it became fashionable only in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when native traditions were breaking down.

Woolf has some interesting notes on hypocoristic forms, many of which have hitherto been confusing: *Cuda* for *Cupwulf*, *Saba* for *Sæbeorht*, *Osa* for *Oslaf*, *Ceola* for *Ceolric*, even *Nunna* for *Noðhelm*. As to the semantic interpretations of Germanic dithematic names, he can only concur with the well-known conclusion of Henry Bradley in his *Story of the Goths* that such compounded names were not usually felt to express any particular meaning. 'Any word belonging to the one list [of name themes] might be joined to any word in the other list, even if the two were quite contradictory in sense.' Justifiably Woolf pauses (p. 89) to expose the worthlessness of G. P. Baker's assumption in his *Fighting Kings of Wessex* that the name *Æðelstan* commemorates the union of Wessex and Kent and has definite reference to the stone at Kingston! Elsewhere, however, Woolf would interpret the name of *Hroþgar's* queen

in *Beowulf* as 'foreign servant' (p. 157), which he therefore holds to be a nickname, regardless of E. V. Gordon's convincing argument (*Medium Ævum*, iv. 3, pp. 169-75) that the first element of *Wealhþeow* is cognate with O.N. *Val-*, Gothic *Wala-*, 'chosen' and so 'beloved'; and that the second element 'servant' (i.e. servant of God) was not inappropriate to a high-born lady.

The genealogies are excellent and no labour has been spared to make them exact and comprehensible. But many will wonder why kings whose regnal dates are well attested should be characterized by a *floruit circa*; why, for example, such an important historical personage as Dunstan's sovereign Eadgar, King of England, A.D. 959-75, should appear (p. 76) as Eadgar (*fl. ca.* 960). It is true that Ælfred 'does not seem to have been given his title, "the Great", until the seventeenth century' (p. 82), an epithet, it may be added, bestowed upon him by Sir John Spelman in his garrulous biography, probably influenced by a casual phrase in the writings of Cardinal Baronius who had described Ælfred as *magnus merito nuncupatus*. But in *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* he was already *Alfráðr hinn ríki*, a fact of some significance since descriptive adjuncts of this type, as Woolf shows elsewhere, were characteristic of Scandinavian. Ælfred's daughter Æðelswif married Baldwin of Flanders, son of an earlier Baldwin and Ælfred's step-mother, Judith. 'One surely might expect to find a third Baldwin here, but the four children of this couple were given names beginning with vowels' (p. 85), thus perpetuating, through the mother's influence, the Wessex tradition abroad. It might have been added, however, that 'a third Baldwin' did appear in the following generation and yet a fourth Baldwin in the next but two (both good instances of 'grandfather-grandson repetition'), and they stood in an illustrious line indeed, for it is through them alone that King George VI to-day claims direct descent from Ælfred.

The subject of second names, nicknames, by-names and patronymics, lies outside this special study and it is certainly 'one concerning which there is need of more light' (p. 156). King Eadmund's attribute *Ironsides* (Old English Chronicle, MS. D, s.a. 1057: Eadmund cing Iren sid wæs geclypod for his snellscepe) must surely be influenced by Old Norse **járnsíða*. It is perhaps asserting too much to say that, when men signed themselves as *Wine preost* and *Ælfstan bisceop*, 'their ecclesiastical positions were a means of identification that is not unlike a surname' (p. 118). Herein, of course, may be detected the beginnings of the occupational surname, but titles and occupations normally followed the proper noun in Old English (unless a demonstrative preceded). Parson Wine and Bishop Ælfstan were always *Wine preost* and *Ælfstan bisceop*, like *Eadweard cyning*, *Ælfric abbud*, etc. *Bedeutungsvariation* (pp. 35 and 150) is an ambiguous and unnecessary hybrid. In the full and excellent Bibliography F. C. A. Fick's important work on Greek personal names might have found a place. The observation on Indo-European names (p. 3), attributed to Redin, is actually Redin's citation from Fick.

The author has graciously dedicated his treatise to Professor Kemp Malone, under whose able guidance it was planned. The book is a joy to handle and to read, exceptionally well printed and bound, a credit to the Johns Hopkins Press. It merits comparison with, as in a measure it supplements, the valuable work in this field by two Swedish scholars, by Mats Redin in his *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*, 1919, and by Olof von Feilitzen in his *Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, 1937. Together these three very competent studies solve some difficult problems and they alleviate considerably the formidable task of him who would set out to compile a complete Old English name-book.

SIMEON POTTER.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Syntax and Style in Old English. By S. O. ANDREW. Cambridge: University Press. 1940. iv+112 pp. 10s. 6d.

The only extensive treatise on Old English syntax, Wülfing's *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, ends with the syntax of the word. The projected volume on sentence-structure was never even begun. Likewise Luick's plan to devote the third volume of his *Historische Grammatik* to an account of Old, Middle and Modern English Syntax remained an unfulfilled wish. Mr S. O. Andrew's treatise is therefore very welcome. It is the first book on the syntax of the Old English sentence. Its opening chapters are a reprint, with slight modifications, of the article on *Some Principles of Old English Word-order* contributed to *Medium Ævum*, III (October 1934), and the title of this article would be a more accurate, though less attractive, one for the new book, which is limited to a series of observations on sentence-pattern, on parataxis and hypotaxis, and on pronouns and negations. As the author modestly states in his Preface, it is 'an attempt to drive a few main lines through the almost unexplored tract of Old English syntax'. Three 'kinds of order' may be distinguished: *common*, as in Modern English (subject + verb + object, etc.), usual in principal sentences; *conjunctive* (conjunction or relative pronoun or adverb + subject + object + verb) normal in subordinate clauses; and *demonstrative* (demonstrative adverb + verb, etc.) found in principal sentences after *þa*, *þonne*, *þær* as head-words. These sentence-patterns are fully discussed and illustrated, and some notable conclusions are drawn from them. First, it is deduced that in sentence-structure and word-order 'the same rules hold for verse as for prose', though it is afterwards found necessary to devote three chapters, VIII-X, to *Poetic Idioms*. Secondly, it is clearly shown that the paratactic character of the older language has been unduly exaggerated and that editors have taken too much for granted in punctuating the ancient texts. 'The supposed paratactic structure of Old English, whether in prose or verse, is an illusion' (Preface). The prevailing structure of *Beowulf* 'is

not paratactic at all but periodic' (p. 100). Further, it is maintained that certain scribal blunders are demonstrable syntactically and that they should be rectified accordingly.

In general it must be said that Andrew's main argument is too lucid to be true. He simplifies overmuch. Language, being psychological and human, is not always logical. Should the linguist, faced with complex appearances, simplify them at all costs? Maybe the attempt must sometimes be made. In some cases, issues may thereby be clarified and the way may be made smoother for the novice. But the book before us is not intended for the beginner: it is addressed to the advanced student and the teacher. Like the natural scientist, the linguist must state a complexity when he observes one. Leon Kellner spent much time trying to reduce the Old English sentence to a few simple patterns and, unable to do so, said as much. Sweet averred that Old English word-order 'resembles that of Modern German in many respects, though *it is not so strict*'.

On the other hand, the author's contention that the asyndetic nature of Old English has been over-emphasized may be accepted with gratitude. Here some shrewd blows are struck. His proofs are weighty. It is to be hoped that he will continue his researches in this direction and, if so, that he will devote less time and space to the faulty pointings and inadequate interpretations of editions now by general consent superseded. We cannot approve of the term *traditional text* of *Beowulf* by which 'is meant no more than the text as it is usually *punctuated* by editors'. There are over thirty complete editions of this poem and no two have exactly the same punctuation throughout. Often, too, the punctuation is intentionally non-committal for, as Klaeber somewhere remarks, the semi-colon is a useful expedient, not to be lightly ignored by the painstaking editor when in doubt. He may promote a comma to a semi-colon and still leave his reader to choose for himself even as the minstrel of old, with 'metrical points' alone to guide him, gladly decided for himself. Is it likely that every minstrel recited *Beowulf* with identical sentence-division, rhythm, intonation and emphasis? It should not be stated (p. 28) concerning lines 19-22 of *The Whale*:

þonne gewiciað werigferðe. . .
on þam ealonde æled weccað
. . . hæleþ beoþ on wynnum—

that 'the editions (*sic*) make three principal sentences' instead of one. Which editions? Certainly not the more recent ones. In the *Columbia Exeter Book*, for example, Krapp and Dobbie are in complete agreement with Andrew. It is needless to insist on the subordination of the *þonne cymð* clause to the preceding one in the following lines, 313-16, of *Genesis*:

þær hæbbað heo on æfyn ungemet lange
ealra feonda gehwylc fyr edneowe
þonne cymð on uhtan easterne wind
forst fyrmum cald symble fyr oððe gar—

when this is only in accordance with the punctuation in Sweet's (unrevised) *Anglo-Saxon Reader* and in Klaeber's Heidelberg edition of *The Later Genesis*, to name no others.

As for the author's proposed emendations on purely syntactic grounds, none of them is quite convincing. Syntax may point the way to an improved reading but it is doubtful whether any emendation is justifiable solely on these grounds. Let us take one instance out of many in the book to demonstrate what we feel to be the onesidedness of the author's method. It is the well-known passage in *Beowulf*, lines 194-9, introducing the hero:

þæt fram ham gefrægn Higelaces þegn
god mid Geatum Grendles dæda
se wæs moncynnes mægenes strengest
on þam dæge þysses lifes
æpele ond eacen het him yðlidan
godne gegyrwan...

'Since the word-order', it is argued (p. 94), 'tolerates *þæt* only as a relative pronoun, and a relative pronoun, at the beginning of a new paragraph, is meaningless, read *þa* for *þæt*, and make the clause subordinate to the following sentence. We have been told in the preceding eighty lines of Grendel's attacks on Hart and of the despair of Hroðgar and his Danes; the stage is therefore set for the hero's entrance, and the poet continues: "When in his distant home Higelac's thane, famous among the Geats, strongest in might among mankind, heard tell of Grendel's doings, he bade prepare a goodly ship..." Now this new approach to an old and familiar subject is welcome and refreshing. At first sight it seems very plausible. Too soon, however, objections begin to assert themselves, of all three kinds: textual, syntactic and stylistic. First, the unique inherited text has clearly and definitely the 'crossed thorn', the customary abbreviation for *þæt* in manuscripts of this period, never once confused with *þa*, which is invariably written as two letters. Secondly, even on syntactic grounds *þæt* is preferable, for it is the anticipatory pronoun demonstrative (Wülffing, § 258) characteristic of Old English and Old Norse, pointing forward to a more explicit substantive phrase, as here *Grendles dæda*, or to a noun clause. Thirdly, as in good Old English style, *þæt* rings true. It is an instance of that notable feature of the old poetry which may be described as *retardation*, 'the following up of a pronoun by a complementary descriptive phrase, in the manner of variation' and as such this passage is actually cited, with *hi...swæse gesiþas* of line 28, by Klaeber (*Beowulf*³, p. lxxv). 'First', observes Hoops (*Kommentar*, p. 42), 'a general demonstrative pronoun, and then a more specific variation.'

A few misprints have been noted: 'forþæm þe' for 'forþæm', p. 5, l. 2; 'to bisceop' for 'to bisceope', p. 9, l. 3; 'mid maðmum' for 'mid þam maðmum', p. 14, l. 5; 'oncwawennys' for 'oncnawennys', p. 21, l. 26; 'Gen. 305' for 'Gen. 313', p. 27, l. 18; 'ymbe Asia' for 'ymbe Asia

‘bondgemæro’, p. 32, l. 5; ‘ubi’ for ‘ubi cum’, p. 33, l. 29; ‘Alpes’ for ‘Alpis’, p. 37, l. 19; ‘hie to’ for ‘him þa to’, p. 56, l. 5; ‘(he)’ for ‘(ne)’, p. 80, l. 11; ‘ofsmored’ for ‘ofsmorod’, p. 92, l. 24; ‘pruinarum’ for ‘prunarum’, p. 92, l. 26.

The author shows a sound critical faculty in his summary of the qualities of our earlier prose, both its strength and its weakness, and what he says about ‘the mature prose of Aelfric’ (p. 91) is wise and just. Further, ‘the translator of *Orosius* at his best, which is when he is rendering his Latin freely, comes closest to Aelfric: in narrative especially. .he has the combined simplicity and variety of Herodotus, and much of his charm’.

This is a useful book, but one cannot help feeling with regret that its author has developed his theories too much in isolation, that he has moved too narrowly among Anglo-Saxon texts, and that he lacks that wider Germanic background which is utterly essential in investigations of this kind. His book will be read by all with edification and profit, though few scholars are likely to be completely converted to his way of thinking.

SIMEON POTTER.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Middle English Sermons. Edited from British Museum MS. Royal 18 B. xxiii by WOODBURN O. ROSS. (E.E.T.S. 209.) London: Oxford University Press. lxvi+386 pp. 30s.

Here is another addition to the *corpus* of Late Middle English manuscripts which the Early English Text Society does such excellent work in producing. It is very good to see that the Society’s publications are continuing in spite of the fact that (to quote from the present volume) ‘we ben in werre ageyns many londes on iche a syde and þei zeyns vs’ (p. 47), and again, ‘batels bep reysed welnyȝ in euery lond, Cristend shedyng of Cristen blode continually, gret & huge... & þe lordeshippes of hethen men growep vpward and in-cresep’ (p. 255). Perhaps some will echo the preacher’s words, ‘we bid and preye iche day in holychurche, all maner of prestes and oþur men also, for to haue pees.. .How itt is pat we haue nott pees and zitt it is a good and a ryghtwis petition pat we haske, I can not say, but zuff þis be þe cause, pat we preye and slepynge in synne’ (p. 47).

This collection of sermons, apparently intended to serve as models for preachers, is contained in a manuscript which the *Catalogue of Western MSS.* assigns to the middle of the fifteenth century—‘Middle’ being of course an elastic term in that century. The editor has been able to date some of the sermons approximately from internal evidence, as, for instance, references to the Great Schism and to Lollard heresies, and quotations from John Bromyard; one, by a somewhat intricate but quite plausible argument, Professor Ross shows to have been preached before King Henry V, on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1413–14. All the

sermons probably belong to the last decade of the fourteenth and the first two decades of the fifteenth century, and were anything from ten to fifty years old when they were copied into the manuscript which is here edited. How long before this they were first brought together into one compilation it is impossible to say—it cannot have been very long, but there is some evidence to suggest that two or more copies lie behind the present one. Fifty-one English sermons are printed in this volume; the MS. contains also, in addition to Latin material, a sermon of Thomas Wimbledon and three from John Myrc's *Festial*. These have already been published, which is the editor's reason for omitting them, but it seems a pity, for linguistic considerations, that they were not included—Professor Ross shows, indeed, that a comparison of the dialect in this manuscript with that in other manuscripts of Myrc is interesting and valuable.

The collection is on reasonable grounds assigned to Oxford, and the editor proves, against the opinion of Dr Owst, that the sermons, though for the laity, were by no means all designed for 'humble audiences and by a rather uncouth preacher'; some at least (a group apparently by one author) are the work of a scholarly priest and addressed to a congregation of high social standing. The majority of the sermons are of the so-called 'modern' type, with a recognized method of construction, in distinction to the more formless and less organized older type. A part of the introduction is devoted to a discussion of the form of the 'modern' sermon and its exemplification here.

There is a short section on the dialect; this needs a little revision in some details. It is a little misleading, for example, to say that 'On spellings' (for O.E. *a* + nasal) 'are North-western'. So they are, it is true, or at least north-west midland, but not exclusively so; there are such manuscripts as that of Lazamon's *Brut* (Caligula), and the *Ancrene Riwe* (Nero and others), where *on*-forms are regular, but which certainly cannot be called 'North-western'.

The volume has interesting notes, dealing chiefly with sources and references. There is also a select glossary.

MARY S. SERJEANTSON.

FOWNHOPE, HEREF.

The Renaissance and English Humanism. By DOUGLAS BUSH. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1939. 139 pp. 8s. 6d.

The titles of the Alexander Lectures collected in this volume are 'Modern Theories of the Renaissance', 'Continental Humanism', 'English Humanism' and 'Milton'. The central thesis advanced is to the effect that the Renaissance represents the logical fulfilment of the Middle Ages, retaining closer contact than has generally been recognized with mediæval tradition and orthodox Christianity. In the first lecture Professor Bush surveys the work of Burckhardt, Voigt, Burdach,

Toffanin and other historians who, in his view, have exaggerated one or another aspect of the movement such as neo-Paganism or individualism, thereby misrepresenting its significance as a whole. The very terms 'Renaissance' and 'Middle Ages' are unhistorical, the former implying that 'Renaissance day banished medieval night, and the few gleams of individualism...discerned in the Middle Ages, such as the Goliardic songs, were obviously the first rays of the dawn', the latter 'that a period of a thousand years, a fairly large segment in the recorded life of man, was not in itself an integral and consecutive part of the great panorama, but a sort of interlude between the two periods which really mattered'. Having thus revalued some of the commonplaces of historians, in his second lecture Professor Bush proceeds to trace the development of philosophic humanism as a heritage, part classical and part Christian, from John of Salisbury through Petrarch to Erasmus, concluding 'that the classical humanism of the Renaissance was fundamentally medieval and fundamentally Christian'. In this respect English humanism, the subject of the third lecture, does not differ fundamentally from that of the Continent, for 'if northern humanism grew up largely in the service of the Reformation, we should remember that much of the energy of Italian humanism was devoted to the support or the revival of medieval religious orthodoxy'. In dealing with the question how far English scholarship sustained a setback through the policy of Henry VIII and more particularly through the death of More, Professor Bush rather unnecessarily reiterates his objection to the views of J. S. Phillimore and Professor R. W. Chambers, whose conclusions would seem to refer not so much to English culture in general as to the particular type of culture represented in More and his circle. The issue is more apparent than real, and it may be presumed that the authorities here called in question would whole-heartedly endorse Professor Bush's main contention as to the creative influence of orthodox ethic and metaphysic upon English writers of the later sixteenth century contrasted with the cramping effects of materialism upon those of to-day. In the fourth lecture Milton is treated as 'the last great exponent of Christian humanism in its historical continuity', profoundly affected by the rising tide of science and scientific philosophy, yet retaining the orthodox Christian conception of the physical and metaphysical world as 'a divine order with a divine purpose' and of man as 'a being endowed with divine reason and divine will'. The consensus of modern opinion would certainly support Professor Bush in stressing the continuity of tradition between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, a factor which was certainly undervalued by earlier historians. But admitting this we must not lose sight of a fundamental difference of attitude towards antiquity dividing medieval from humanistic culture, on the one hand acceptance of available classics as incidental authorities, on the other the growing instinct, first foreshadowed in Petrarch, for recovering classical civilization as a whole and as representing the ideal pattern for imitation. For this distinction Professor

Bush does not make sufficient allowance, confining his attention mainly to the specifically 'Christian' elements in humanism. Within these limits his lectures provide a compact and serviceable study.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

LONDON.

Harington and Ariosto. A Study in Elizabethan Verse Translation. By TOWNSEND RICH. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1940. vi+231 pp. 12s.

This dissertation, based upon material submitted for the Yale University doctorate, makes good a serious lacuna in English scholarship. Though we can scarcely endorse the writer's assertion that Harington's *Orlando Furioso* 'proves as interesting and valuable a field of study as Spenser's *Faerie Queene*', the career of Harington as courtier and writer together with his achievement in this translation provide material of great interest to all students of the period. Dr Rich examines the historical background of Harington's translation, his critical preface and notes, the Italian editions which he is likely to have used, his treatment of his original and his poetic style. The tradition that the translation was made at the command of Queen Elizabeth as a penance for previously translating the wanton tale of Giocondo (*Orlando Furioso*, xxviii) Dr Rich accepts mainly on the rather slender ground that in Harington's rendering of this episode alliteration is less common than in the rest of his translation and that therefore it was translated earlier. While there are no definite grounds for rejecting the tradition, the embellishments to the plate illustrating Book xxviii in Harington's version coupled with his notes and additions to the text of this Book show an unmistakable intention of exaggerating rather than softening the wanton passages in Ariosto; and as no offence appears to have been taken at the completed translation it is difficult to see why the Queen should have shown such scruple over the particular passage in question. Apart from this, however, Harington's notes, additions and alterations throw much light upon his tastes and prejudices, his misogyny (genuine or affected), his reading and relations with contemporaries, his personality and wit. Dr Rich discusses all these topics in detail, adding an estimate of Harington as poet and translator. His dissertation can be recommended as a scholarly, readable and well-documented study.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

LONDON.

Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy. By F. T. BOWERS. Princeton: University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1940. ix+288 pp. 18s. 6d.

This book is a survey of 'the background, the origin, and the chronological development of the Tragedy of Revenge' from 1587 to 1642.

It opens with a clear and scholarly examination of the social and

psychological background of the English Revenge Plays. This part of the book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of this branch of the Elizabethan drama, for it sets before us what is too often overlooked or misunderstood, the fact that the problem of private revenge was still a live issue for the Elizabethan public. By means of a wealth of quotation and reference to the works of contemporary lawyers, preachers and commentators on the customs and mental processes of their own times, Professor Bowers reveals to us a society midway between acceptance of private revenge as a right or moral duty and acceptance of the state's complete responsibility for safeguarding the honour and rights of its members. Thus the circumstances in which a man might justifiably revenge himself, the means he might take and his moral (and to some degree his legal) status were all questions upon which the popular imagination was already at work. That the law and the pulpit were well ahead, in this matter, of the popular sentiments, superstitions and prejudices goes without saying; the Revenge Play derived its immense popularity and its long lease of life from the fact that it presented a problem of conduct with which its audience was already familiar and about which feeling was likely to run high. To grasp this is to approach the Revenge Play not as a Senecan or Italian borrowing which for some reason caught the minds of the Elizabethans, but as a sensational dramatic presentation of something that was already an integral part of the experience of that generation. To lose sight of this is to risk misinterpreting the nexus of moral, social, political and psychological problems in some of the major drama of this type. Professor Bowers has earned our gratitude for insisting that we should bring to our study of this part of the Elizabethan drama an imaginative understanding of the social background such as we have long recognized to be necessary in the parallel case of the *Oresteia*.

The author traces four phases in the history of the Revenge Play. Kyd, who knew precisely how to draw upon Senecan and Italian materials, was the undoubted originator of the type. Professor Bowers gives an acute analysis of the technique of *The Spanish Tragedy* in relation to its successors and a reconstruction of the hypothetical *Ur-Hamlet* which is highly suggestive—even if the suggestion is sometimes that of a palaeontologist reconstructing an entire diplodocus from one back tooth. The tradition of Kyd, he considers, continued substantially unaltered for about twenty years: up to and including the *Revenger's Tragedy* in about 1607. After this he recognizes a second phase which he calls 'The Reign of the Villain', in which the portrayal of horror took precedence and 'vengeance for murder was no longer the emphasised theme'. Certainly one would agree that a re-orientation to the theme of revenge sets in in the English drama at about that date, but one hesitates to accept some of the generalizations Professor Bowers makes in defining this group. I for one do not accept the statement, 'Since the horror itself is all-important, the reaction of the spirit is neglected' (p. 155),

when I find that the category it covers is about to include *Women beware Women* and *The White Devil*. Some amends are, however, made to Webster in the analysis (pp. 179-83) of his play and handsome amends to Middleton later (pp. 204-6) when *The Changeling* is treated as representative of the third phase. This third phase is perhaps the most interesting part of the Revenge Play's history, when the reversal of sympathy sets in. The author calls it 'The Disapproval of Revenge'; it begins, as we would expect, with the original exploits of Tournear in *The Atheist's Tragedy* and goes on to include the finest work of Middleton, Massinger and Ford, where in one way or another the motive of revenge meets its final repudiation. A chapter on the fourth phase, 'The Decadence of Revenge Tragedy' rounds off the story and a 'Conclusion' sums up the findings.

The book, though the author prefers not to add a bibliography, is extremely well documented, especially in the first two chapters. When Professor Bowers has occasion to refer to the critics who have preceded him (during the last forty or fifty years) in analysis of the Elizabethan drama, he tends, perhaps, to draw upon American scholarship, criticism and learned publications somewhat to the neglect of the English. This is unavoidable to some degree, except in the most cosmopolitan of societies; most of us are guilty of a certain unawareness of the thought and critical opinions of some of our colleagues in other countries. But some of us in England owe a debt to American scholars and thinkers, many of whom are also our friends, and would not willingly see the Atlantic grow any broader than it already is. In these days, when communication and the interchange of books is likely to be hindered, this becomes a live concern. Scholarship, which must be international if it is to live, recognizes none of the barriers that separate nations, least of all those that are merely geographical, and in respect of its internationalism it must 'take the responsibility of its power and keep all its freedom'.

UNA ELLIS-FERMOR.

LONDON.

Induction to Tragedy. A Study in a Development of Form in Gorboduc, The Spanish Tragedy and Titus Andronicus. By HOWARD BAKER. University, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1939. 247 pp. \$2.75.

In this study of the evolution of tragedy from *Gorboduc* to *Titus Andronicus* Mr Baker maintains that 'the theory that Seneca was the eminent influence on sixteenth-century writers of tragedy is a blighting critical fiction'. He is led to this conclusion not by mere antipathy to Seneca, but by the evidence of more likely alternative sources for alleged Senecan features, and these he usually finds in works of medieval origin or inspiration. His volume is, indeed, a significant contribution to the writings of those present-day American critics whose recoil from the theories expounded half a century ago in J. W. Cunliffe's *The Influence*

of *Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (1893) has provoked a fresh scrutiny of native pre-Shakespearean tragedy, both dramatic and of the narrative *Falls of Princes* type.

The nature of some of his many interesting contentions may be briefly indicated. In an admirable chapter on *Gorboduc* (in which, incidentally, he convincingly amends the usual solution of the problem of apportioning the work between the two authors by giving the first scene to Sackville and the last to Norton), he claims that the passages of 'Senecan' diction and imagery picked out by critics from the Norton sections are more closely anticipated in Norton's translations of the Psalms than in Seneca's plays; that the conception of vengeance is the Biblical one of 'divine retribution for specific faults', and not that of the generalized curse of Seneca's Nemesis; and that the *sententiae* are not exclusively Senecan. In *The Spanish Tragedy* he finds that Andrea's Ghost is definitely un-Senecan in his preoccupation with describing his 'fall', his descent into hell, and the Virgilian features of that place—a preoccupation which, however, characterizes the ghosts of *The Mirror for Magistrates*; while his desire for revenge might equally well have been suggested by the Ghost of Buckingham in Sackville's *Complaint* as by any of Seneca's ghosts. The personification, Revenge, moreover, is shown to be 'one of the supernatural beings of medieval literature who act as guides, interpreters, and interlocutors, in the "marvellous journeys"—journeys which might be like that of a ghost back into the world'. As for *Titus Andronicus*, Mr Baker denies the propriety of deriving such a 'Senecan' feature as its 'Thyestian' banquet from Seneca's *Thyestes*, arguing instead that the play is 'a purely Elizabethan transformation of the Philomela story' from Ovid, while Virgil's influence is probably the true source of the supposedly Senecan description of the hunting scene in II. ii.

In his consideration of technique Mr Baker boldly submits precedents in medieval drama, Tudor classical comedy, and non-dramatic tragedy for ten formal features, though one must object that these could more easily have been found in combination in Seneca. In an excellent chapter on 'Transformations of Medieval Structure', however, his critical perception is seen to advantage in his comments on certain fundamental qualities of Shakespeare's structure, characterization, and theme and in his relation of these to similar qualities in earlier non-dramatic tragedy. To round off his case against Senecanism, he challenges the Senecan origin of Elizabethan dramatic stoicism, arguing a little unconvincingly that the caveats of Lodge in his fairly late (1614) translation of Seneca's prose works implies the inacceptability to Elizabethan dramatists of many of Seneca's most characteristic doctrines.

In his final stocktaking Mr Baker refuses to credit Seneca with responsibility for more than 'rhetorical patches' in the plays discussed, and even this concession he qualifies by the assertion that 'the vast body of sensational Elizabethan rhetoric is not of specifically Senecan origin'.

Without being unduly reactionary, one may suggest that Mr Baker has swung too far to the opposite extreme from the Cunliffe school in making so sweeping a denial of Senecan influence in an age when the Roman dramatist was known to many in the original and to even more in translation. But the value of his provocative study lies less in its negations than in its positive findings. His investigations have emphasized many significant qualities of the non-dramatic tragedy to which he attaches high importance; he has explored with good results some rather forbidding tracts of Tudor literature; and he has made several effective ventures into Shakespeare criticism. In conclusion, one may draw special attention to his chapter on 'The Formation of the Heroic Medium', where, abandoning negations, he acutely examines the development of blank verse in the sixteenth century, the Virgilian and Middle English influences which conditioned it, the uses to which it was put, and its culmination in the 'high astounding terms' of Marlowe's 'mighty line'.

F. E. BUDD.

LONDON.

The Judicious Marriage of Mr Hooker and the Birth of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. By C. J. Sisson. Cambridge: University Press. 1940. xvi + 230 pp. 10s. 6d.

Professor Sisson has been exceptionally fortunate in lighting upon the records of Chancery proceedings concerning the estate bequeathed by Richard Hooker to his wife and children. Though family litigation is normally so distressing a thing, these records, singularly enough, raise our estimation of nearly all the persons concerned, and at the same time reveal most important facts which bear upon problems connected with the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

These are chiefly of three kinds. First, there is the family life of Hooker, for which Isaac Walton has generally been accepted as a trustworthy witness. His account is now shown to be wrong in many important particulars. John Churchman, whose daughter Hooker married, far from being in 'a necessitous condition', is proved to have been high in office in his company of Merchant Taylors, and afterwards to have attained the honourable position of Master. Far from giving his daughter no dowry, he provided for her portion what was then the handsome sum of £700. Again according to Walton, Hooker, then vicar of Drayton Beauchamp, received there a visit from two of his former pupils, and was called away from entertaining them by an insistent demand from his wife that he should 'rock the cradle'. Professor Sisson can find no evidence that Hooker ever resided in this benefice, which, in any case, he held for but a very short time, and if he did, it was more than three years before his marriage. Walton represents Hooker as entrapped into an unsuitable marriage with a woman who lacked both personal attractions and skill in housewifery. It is now, however, abundantly clear

that John Churchman was amazingly generous to his son-in-law and hospitable to his friends and collaborators in the composition of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and that the author, upon his decease, left, besides his writings, the then considerable fortune of £1082. We do not know what evidence Walton had of Mrs Hooker's personal appearance, but certainly Professor Sisson has ample grounds for his conclusion that in nothing was Richard Hooker more judicious than in his choice of a wife.

The records show, too, that Mrs Hooker survived her husband about three years, re-married, and died at Canterbury. Thus we must reject Walton's story of her being summoned to London in connexion with an alleged destruction of her husband's writings and of her having died there, under most suspicious circumstances, about four months after his death.

Another important point in which Professor Sisson corrects Walton is the date of the first edition of the earlier books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. The chief evidence in support of Walton's date of 1594 has been found in a letter to Lord Burleigh in 1593 in which it has been supposed that Hooker speaks of sending his MS. for that statesman's approval. We feel sure that readers in general will agree with Professor Sisson's contention that the letter in fact accompanied a gift of the *printed* volumes. The edition must have appeared earlier in the year, in time to support the political moves which led to a Conventicle Act.

Secondly, the records now printed afford most interesting information about the conditions of the publishing trade, the size of editions, the cost of printing, the price of books, etc. The work now being reviewed grew out of an invitation by the University of Cambridge to the author to give the Sandars bibliographical lectures.

The third matter upon which new information is now available is the fate of Hooker's posthumous works, and in particular the authenticity of books VI, VII and VIII. Different accounts have come down to us of alleged tampering with these books after the author's death. The difficulty is that these accounts are widely at variance with one another; even Dr Spenser, the editor of the edition of 1604, makes himself responsible for versions which are not easy to reconcile. Professor Sisson casts suspicion on all these stories, and contends that the books, as we have them now, are, in substance, the authentic work of Hooker. From the records there emerges the important fact that the reason why books VI and VII of the *Polity* were not included in Dr Spenser's edition of 1604 was a disagreement between Lancelot Andrews, afterwards the Bishop of Ely, and Edwin Sandys as to 'the inserting of a tract of confession'. It is natural to identify this, as Professor Sisson does, with what eventually appeared as the far larger part of book VI. If it was preserved by Andrews, and published after his death, we may presume that he regarded it favourably. Though it is anti-Roman, it yet asserts the need of works of penance for sin in a manner which might be dis-

tasteful to one of such puritanical leanings as Sandys. But even now, book vi is incomplete, for there survive notes upon 85 pages of fair copy which has disappeared.

It was not until after the Restoration that an edition appeared of the full eight books. Hooker's positions of theological moderation, which previously were obnoxious to the extreme Protestant side, now were not considered altogether satisfactory, according to Professor Sisson, by the advanced Anglican wing. Thus the judicious Hooker, as is the fate of so many would-be peace-makers, was attacked by both of the combatants.

Professor Sisson accordingly admits the possibility of 'contamination' of the books 'by their clerical trustees'. He would be a bold man, in the present state of the evidence, who would venture to say how far such contamination went.

The importance of the book under review is that the various topics shed light upon one another. The complexity of the title must not disguise its essential unity. Though much may yet remain uncertain, the new information now made available in this brilliant and fascinating book will be indispensable to all future students of Hooker's monumental work.

P. E. HALLETT.

WONERSH, SURREY.

Andrew Marvell. By M. C. BRADBROOK and M. G. LLOYD THOMAS. Cambridge: University Press. 1940. viii+161 pp. 7s. 6d.

It is natural that the two most arresting chapters in this work should be those concerned with Marvell's poetry, where the authors describe their attempts to understand the poet's mind at certain crucial and representative moments of invention and to unravel the complexities of his meaning. Reference is made to the linguistic conditions and 'cultural history' of the time and the discussion is partly conducted in terms, now almost time-honoured, of psychological conflicts and resolutions and of verbal ambiguities and shifts of meaning. No lyrical poet of the seventeenth century offers better material than Marvell for this kind of investigation, for he could be genuinely subtle, not merely ingenious, and imaginative rather than fanciful in the sense at least that his imagery often 'grows—and continues to grow upon the mind', stimulating the critic to probe into the secrets of its efficacy. To be successful in this delving the critic must himself be subtle enough to discover something of what may be intended 'Where more is meant than meets the ear' and also be able to convince his readers that his discoveries have the weight or at least the ring of true metal.

That the authors of this volume can satisfy these conditions is suggested by some of their comments on poems like 'The Coronet' and 'A Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure', and in some of their explanations of particular phrases. Elsewhere, however,

and rather too frequently, their interpretations seem to be strained and gratuitous. Occasionally they guard themselves with a 'perhaps': in 'The Definition of Love' 'the iron wedges of Fate are perhaps meant to be magnetic', and in the lines

But ours so truly Parallel
Though infinite can never meet

'perhaps there is reference to an idea Marvell states elsewhere, that a straight line produced to infinity becomes a circle'; but they can also be more confident and in 'The Nymph complaining for the death of her Faun' the whiteness of the fawn 'is of course symbolic of the Agnus Dei'. One learns too with some surprise that in

Here at the Fountains sliding foot
Or at some Fruit-trees mossy root ("The Garden", 49-50.)

'the baptismal fountain, the tree of knowledge' are somehow incorporated, and that the six lines beginning

He makes the Figs our mouths to meet
And throws the Melons at our feet

suggest 'the triumphant England of 1653 rather than the remote Bermudas'. Marvell's subtlety is not to be demonstrated by forcing the sense of his words.

The authors are generally on firmer ground when they try to show the development of Marvell's style in verse and in prose and at times when they seek to relate his writings to 'social attitudes and habits of thought'. But they hardly live up to the ambitious programme announced in their preface: their introductory account of the linguistic situation is too slight to be illuminating and the history of literature is not very well served by the flat assertion that 'the period of the Civil War and Commonwealth was one in which there were no great literary figures' or by the succeeding exposition which begins 'Milton was doing government work: Herbert was dead', and which begs rather than justifies the conclusion that 'it was a dull time'.

The initial chapter competently sets forth the known facts of Marvell's life and the two chapters on the prose are valuable not least because they will make for better acquaintance with some not easily accessible works.

L. C. MARTIN.

LIVERPOOL.

Revivals and Importations of French Comedies in England, 1749-1800.
By WILLARD AUSTIN KINNE. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1939.
xv+310 pp. 19s.

In this volume Mr Kinne has catalogued English borrowings from French comedies in plays revived or first produced in the second half of

the eighteenth century. The amount of labour involved in the search may be deduced from his final estimate that one-quarter of the plays and afterpieces of the period were indebted to French dramatists, of whom no fewer than sixty-four were drawn upon. As a separate chapter is given to each decade, the progress of the borrowing may be traced statistically thus (revivals being numbered first, then acted new plays, and, in parentheses, unacted new plays): 1749-60, 21+10; 1760-70, 12+24 (+24); 1770-80, 10+25 (+10); 1780-90, 19+29 (+35); 1790-1800, 19+18. The sudden drop in the last decade from the peak attained in the years 1780-90 is attributed to the new vogue of German drama. The most freely pilfered of the French dramatists were Molière (twenty of whose comedies were drawn on), Destouches (thirteen), Sedaine (nine), Dancourt, Saint-Foix, Favart (six each), Beaumarchais, Marivaux (five each), and Regnard (four). All, however, were treated freely by their English adapters, who frankly catered for the native taste in their elevation of intrigue and situation above psychological characterization and in their strong infusion of low comedy, farce, topical satire, and spectacle.

Mr Kinne is to be commended for the industry with which he has tackled his subject, and his compilation will prove useful. One may, nevertheless, question the advisability of including so much padding in the borrowed biographical accounts of individual authors, such as the elder Colman, and in the second-hand criticisms of their plays. Moreover, such original criticism as is offered is often unduly trite and naively phrased, as, for instance, his comment that certain translators of French comedies 'must have possessed a fairly good knowledge of French, because there are no glaring mistakes in general meaning', or his culminating stricture on the crudity which offends him in the plays he has chosen to study: 'How dull indecency is, when it is not the overflowing of a superabundant energy or savagery!' Stylistically, many of the numerous French tags could well be spared in favour of their idiomatic English equivalents. Lastly, the present writer especially regrets that Burnaby still appears under the alias of Charles instead of with the baptismal William reclaimed for him ten years ago in my edition of his *Dramatic Works*.

F. E. BUDD.

LONDON.

La France Libre, Vol. 1, No. 1, 15 Nov. 1940. London: Hamish Hamilton. 2s. (20s. per annum).

It is proper that the *Modern Language Review*, which has dealt so largely with the things of the spirit as they have been manifested in France, should salute the appearance in England of a journal devoted to French thought and French scholarship, in the French language, and expressing that thought in the congenial freedom which may still be

enjoyed in England and which is the breath of life to the French people, and to truth.

La France Libre is not a propagandist journal, though all truth is propaganda in a world of lies. It is a refuge for the intellectual life of France. And its first number reflects the wide interests of the minds of those who in this country have a right to speak for France. It is inevitable that various phases of the capital conflict now proceeding should occupy much of its space. But the immediate, as always in French minds, is transcended and abstracted in such more general and philosophic disquisitions as those of Professor Saurat, who has for so long, and with such authority, spoken for France in this country, M. René Avord, or M. Ignace Legrand. The voice of Belgium is also heard, in an account of the politico-linguistic problem of the country for which M. Camille Huysmans speaks.

Such distinguished collaboration makes lighter the task of the editor of the journal, Dr André Labarthe, who has every right to look forward to notable success, in an atmosphere of cordial welcome to his venture. *La France Libre* worthily stands for that indestructible French spirit, which is by no means exiled from France but for a time can only speak freely elsewhere.

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

Le Livre de Ethiques d'Aristote. By MAISTRE NICOLE ORESME. Published from the Text of the MS. 2902, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, with a Critical Introduction and Notes by ALBERT DOUGLAS MENUT. New York: G. Stechert. 1940. \$6.00.

Nicole Oresme is known as the author of a treatise on money, and as a representative of 'the abortive Renaissance' under Charles V. Oresme's first translation from Aristotle was the *Livre de Ethiques*, which Dr Menut has edited, taking as the basis of his text MS. 2902 of the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, because 'no later copy of the *Ethics* reveals any significant departure from the text of B (MS. 2902), and B is nearer chronologically to the original than any other known copy'. Variant readings are included 'when a distinctly different word or phrase occurs; graphic variants are not noted unless their significance warrants'. Oresme's footnotes are also given.

The manuscripts show few variants, and the manuscript selected apparently represents Oresme's thought, so that Dr Menut's choice is sound. The text and footnotes are edited with exactitude.¹ Herein lies the merit of this work, and the editor's zeal is to be commended. The book is beautifully presented.

Dr Menut's Introduction suggests Charles V's motives in asking Oresme to translate the *Ethics*, reviews the translator's life, lists his

¹ It has naturally been impossible to see the manuscripts, but the reader can judge the quality of the work by comparing the plates and printed text.

works, shows how Grosseteste's Latin translation was used, and gives the sources of Oresme's notes. The editor describes the manuscripts and only printed edition, and analyses the language of the *Ethics*.

The summary of Oresme's life is useful, because the biographies by Meunier (1857) and by Bridrey (1906) are not always easy of access.¹ Scholars will be grateful for the remarks on the language, and for the appendices. A complete index to the whole volume would have been an advantage.

What are we to think of Oresme's translation? He did not, of course, know Greek, but how has he translated Grosseteste's Latin? Comparing the parallel Latin and French passages quoted on pp. 73-5, we see that Oresme's interpolations consist of explanations: *Aeschylus* becomes *un poète appelé Ayskili*; *bene enunciaverunt*—*parloient bien les anciens*, and *in salutem percutiens*—*se un chirurgien fendoit ou trenchoit aucun membre pour garir un homme*. Sometimes the explanations take the form of synonyms: *appetent et desirent*; but the habit was strong, and Oresme writes *parler ou dire*. He interposes himself continually; his 'translation' is a paraphrase, a satisfactory paraphrase, let it be added, into a language whose prose was in its infancy. This is Dr Menut's opinion also, but he does not describe the translation as a paraphrase.

And this brings me to my only serious criticism. Dr Menut does not write plain English. In an edition of a fourteenth-century text intended for scholars, an introduction in French would have been appropriate, and Dr Menut's French, whatever it is like, cannot be worse than his English, for French does not tolerate vagueness. His English is a mixture of circumlocution and verbosity. He employs words loosely and even inaccurately; he indulges in journalese variation. '*It seems that the task of translating a work of its dimensions must have required, etc.*';² '*the post of bishop of the diocese of Lisieux*'. Charles V is *this exceptionally intelligent monarch*, and *the enlightened French monarch*. The College of Navarre was famed for *the superior quality* of its students. Oresme was *neither handsome nor uncouth of face*. When once he had settled in his episcopal city, he devoted himself *solely to theological matters*, the first of which was a controversy over expense. [When did the things of Caesar become the things of God?] And so on. I could give many more examples. And yet in spite of the multiplicity of words, the vocabulary is poor. *Important* is a favourite stop-gap. The introduction runs to eighty-eight pages; all the facts could go into fifty.

JANET ESPINER-SCOTT.

DALRY.

¹ In the *Histoire du Moyen Âge*, t. VIII, *La civilisation au moyen âge* by H. Pirenne, G. Cohen and H. Focillon (Paris, 1933), p. 332, M. Cohen said that Gérard Bloch was taking Oresme as the subject of his thesis. I wrote to M. Cohen and he tells me that Bloch has published nothing so far. Dr Menut does not mention Bloch.

² Introduction, pp. 5, 18, 6, 36, 11, 20, 19 *Important and importance*, pp. 4, 7, 9, 10, 13, 16.

Ronsard, Prince of Poets. By MORRIS BISHOP. London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. 253 pp. 16s. 6d.

This nicely produced book, well printed (in America) and pleasantly spaced, written by a scholar with evident enjoyment and gusto, runs the risk of falling between two stools. It may divert, refresh or irritate the scholar; the reader of 'light literature' may recoil in horror from the word 'poet' in the title; but it deserves a better fate than to be left to the dilettante.

Professor Bishop has succeeded, by play of imagination and humour, by the reconstruction of Ronsard's milieu and the painting of a richly hued backcloth, in enlivening and making real the successive stages of Ronsard's development. As a work of literary criticism, the book is less satisfactory, since the style adopted allows little by way of discussion. For instance (p. 78) on Ronsard's poetic theories: 'only inspiration makes the singer'—a dictum not balanced by Ronsard's (and Du Bellay's) insistence on the toil needed to attain technical perfection. Both *naturel* and *doctrine* are needed to produce the poet, distinguished on the one hand from the versifier, on the other from the rhapsodist. The specimens taken from Ronsard's work are well chosen and for the most part very happily done into English verse—an indication of the public for which the book is intended. Professor Bishop's final judgment on Ronsard is right in its main lines, but is—again for lack of discussion—superficial.

The style is occasionally marred by over-effect, as in the description (p. 4) of Ronsard's mother 'in travail'. 'She groaned upon her high canopied and curtained bed, awaiting the fulfilment of the mystery, consisting, like the Eucharist itself, in oblation, invocation, the miracle of life, thanksgiving and ablution.' The compensation is the freshness imparted to topographical details by the author's first-hand acquaintance with the places of which he speaks.

It would be unfair to ask for erudite paraphernalia in a work thus conceived and executed; if one enjoys its virtues, one must put up with its vices. It has enthusiasm, wit, warmth, human understanding—and only one footnote (p. 74: an amusing and revealing one), and if any readers miss, for instance, references to the standard editions when specimens are quoted, it should not take them long—and it might do them good—to track down the quoted poems or passages for themselves. It is not a book to put by the side of Chamard's *Histoire de la Pléiade*, but it may help some beginner to look on the right side of Ronsard's poetry and serve as an antidote to too much dead-handed analysis.

H. W. LAWTON.

SOUTHAMPTON.

The Pre-War Biographies of Romain Rolland. By RONALD A. WILSON.
 London: Oxford University Press (for St Andrew's University).
 1939. iv+234 pp. 10s. 6d.

By temperament a Romantic Puritan, by training an historian, by profession a musicographer, incidentally a novelist and biographer—from a literary and artistic point of view Romain Rolland is hardly fish or flesh, certainly not good red herring. But this dilettantism, clearly discernible all through the biographies under discussion, does not deter Mr Wilson from examining them in all seriousness and taking the sage at his own rather portentous valuation. For Rolland's lives of great men are frankly didactic, inspired by Plutarch and Carlyle, and their subjects chosen on account of moral worth and rectitude. At the same time they are a manifestation of their author's reaction against the materialism of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Outside the scope of pure literature, like all didactic works written primarily for their age, they have lost much of their point and significance.

Mr Wilson avoids these issues by making his aim documentary rather than critical or aesthetic, and concentrates on analysis and exposition of the works themselves, the moral theories involved and their relation to the author's thought. Of greater interest to the student of literature is the connexion he indicates between the three main biographies—*Beethoven*, *Michel-Ange* and *Tolstoi*—and the three successive stages of development of the hero of Rolland's cyclic novel, *Jean-Christophe*. A detailed study of the relation of the biographies to the novel would be a welcome contribution to our knowledge of his mind and technique.

The analysis and documentation of Mr Wilson's thesis are complete and thorough; but when he leaves them for criticism his judgments are a little indiscriminating, and he draws rather hasty conclusions from his evidence in the chapters on the moral influence of Rolland's work. The group of highly specialized swallows he cites as disciples—Halévy, Gillet, Cazamian, Durtain and Lalou—hardly make a Rolland summer; we must remember, too, as Lalou himself points out, that for many of the young men of the generation of 1913 the hero-worship of Rolland was identified and confused with the nationalism of Maurras and Barrès—surely a very different thing. And André Gide's suggestion that the *Vies des Hommes Illustres* should be in every public library, because they were good for the young, is an odd testimonial coming from the author of *l'Immoraliste*. The truth is that the influence of the *Vies* was strictly limited, and when Mr Wilson says 'the biographies had a profound influence on writers and public' he is making a statement which requires very exact definition and qualification before it can be accepted; his further conclusion, that 'they constitute a landmark in pre-war French literature as the only important examples of imaginative biography', tacitly implies that they are to be accepted as works of art and ignores the preponderating *a priori* didacticism, the defects of style and taste, the essentially un-French qualities which effectively exclude them from any place in French

literature *qua* art. But it is unfair and ungracious to expect Mr Wilson to change his spots, or rather to have none: the book would have been a better book and more conclusive if its author had been more interested in the aesthetic value of Rolland's work; on the other hand, had this been so, it would probably never have been written. As a document describing the genesis of the biographies and assessing them in relation to the tradition of Carlyle and Plutarch, the thesis is a careful and thorough piece of work.

L. A. BISSON.

OXFORD.

La France dans l'œuvre des écrivains roumains contemporains de langue française. By I. HASEGANU. Paris, 1940. iii+187 pp.

As its title suggests, this book deals with the work of a limited cosmopolitan élite, who practically all belong to the Roumanian Francophile movement of the last century. The author is clearly a little prejudiced in their favour, partly because his own sympathies lie in that direction, partly because, as a Roumanian, he is keenly conscious of the magnitude of their achievement in handling, often with grace and dexterity, the idiom and verse-forms of a foreign tongue. After making due allowance for all this, we find that M. Haseganu's study of five representative poets—Julie Hasdeu, Hélène Vacaresco, Anna de Noailles, C. A. Cantacuzène and A. Macedonski—gives a revealing history of French artistic influences in Roumania during the last fifty years. A concluding chapter is devoted to the Roumanian exponents of 'Dada'—Voronca, Fondane, Vinea and Tzara.

M. Haseganu writes of these poets with great understanding and demonstrates ably the salient features of their art. For the reasons already mentioned, he is perhaps over-indulgent to poor Julie Hasdeu's schoolgirl efforts, which are primarily imitative and derivative. But the French culture in which she was steeped undoubtedly sowed the seed which, ripened by her father's propagandist activities, flowered in the work of her successors. Her function in this respect is, *mutatis mutandis*, almost exactly parallel to that of F. X. Garneau in French-Canada; indeed, there are many striking parallels between the poetry of the two countries: the composite Romantic-Parnassian Symbolism of Hélène Vacaresco and Anna de Noailles inevitably recalls the same phenomenon in Alfred Garneau, in Lemay and Chapman. We owe M. Haseganu a debt of gratitude for bringing to our notice again the work of two distinctly original figures: Cantacuzène, who might almost be termed a Roumanian Robert de Montesquiou, without the French poet's virtuosity, but expressing a wistful nostalgia for the Paris of the Boulevards and the Bois in verses of which the leit-motif is an elegant Anacreontic *carpe diem*; Macedonski, sterner, more virile, a lone wolf, singing of disillusion and revolt, finding solace only in *sensations fortes*:

Seule la volupté n'est pas un leurre vain....

M. Haseganu, however, is distinctly unkind to Tzara and his school. Whatever one may think of the absolute value and the aesthetic validity of surrealism, there is no denying that Tzara is one of its pioneers and that his poems have much in them that is suggestive, stimulating and original.

On the whole this little book gives a useful and attractive survey of the Roumanian poets of French expression, and, if one cannot always agree with the author's conclusions, one can usually sympathize with or smile indulgently at his point of view.

L. A. BISSON.

OXFORD.

El Arcipreste de Talavera, o seu El Corbacho. By ALFONSO MARTINEZ DE TOLEDO, edited by LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON. Berkeley: California University Press; London: Cambridge University Press. 1939. xi+361 pp. 15s.

Popular editions of *El Arcipreste de Talavera* in 1929 and 1931 have been evidence of its return to favour in Spain. In the United States a good deal of writing on the subject of anti-feminism will have prepared the way for the most amusing work in that genre. The University of California's text, beautifully printed in a handsome format, is, however, not a candidate for popular favours, but proposes to revise the work of Pérez Pastor, the scholarly editor for the 'Bibliófilos Españoles'. The editor has punctuated and paragraphed the text successfully. I have noticed only misplaced commas on pp. 8 and 42, and on p. 215 italics have been continued too far, with the consequence of attributing to the Psalmist sentiments which he may privately have shared though he would have blushed to publish them. Abbreviations have been extended. The copyist, Alfonso de Contreras, was careless on occasion, and the editor says: 'En tales casos hemos incorporado algunas emendaciones, siguiendo en ellas las más veces a la edición de Pérez Pastor.' The MS. readings are scrupulously given in an appendix. However, once it had been decided to modify the evidence of the manuscript, it might have been better to go farther. There remains a considerable number of *lapsus calami* which (since I do not know the manuscript) may be due to the copyist or the printer. I should hesitate to attribute to Alfonso de Contreras the 'vnpudico' of p. 38 (ynpudico). Presumably an editor has the right to correct—if he corrects anything—what is etymologically impossible, such as the 'rroblar' (robar) of p. 240. The following list is of forms which would have been better corrected or, at least, deserve comment: p. 14 'e an lo quarto' (en), p. 15 'con que lance la criatura muerta' (muera), p. 17 'tractos etalianos' (de taliones?), p. 23 'vriosos' (furiosos), p. 38, 'la rrazon sy es' (así), p. 44 'dañapdo', p. 45 'fieere', p. 55 'palaser' (placer, plazer), p. 62 'desgaries' (desgaires), 'buestre volando' (buitre), p. 63 'muntyuo' (motivo, from 'mũtyuo'?), p. 64 'vieniese, dificile', p. 67 'vanagorio[sa], Dos' (vanagloriosa, Dios), p. 79

'fueyr' (fuyr, huir), p. 90 'potyposo' (pomposo), p. 91 'albarcando' (abarcando), p. 131 'canell' (canela), p. 158 'Santson', pp. 170, 184, 190 'luenga' (lengua), p. 176 'doloriosos', p. 244 'paganes' (paganos), p. 256 'perescripta', p. 307 'pestraña' (patraña), p. 328 'Perinedos, Alfes' (Pirineos, Alpes). Alfonso Martínez must have known his Latin for the purposes of his profession, so that the badness of the Latin in the manuscript seems unfair to the author: p. 47 'ynebendun (inhibendum), p. 171 'de remedio de vitrusque fortune' (utriusque), p. 211 the names of several Zodiacal signs, p. 257 'rrefugun' (refugium), p. 337 'de verbun ad verbun'. It might have been a kindness to a well-read author to have corrected 'Dido rreyna de Aragon' to 'de Cartago' (p. 320), 'rrey Cesar de Breaña' to 'Artur' (p. 321), and 'Aristardo, Tenencio, Cuchides' to 'Aristarco, Terencio, Euclides' (p. 322). A matter of general concern is the confusion of *s* with *z*, which was not really possible in the phonetics of that age. Presumably the archpriest of Talavera used a *z* in the form of *sigma*, like the other archpriest, and later these were misread by Alfonso de Contreras. Examples are: 'çusio, probesa, naturalesa, faser, veses, pes, exersicio'. There are several cases of *d* for *t* (p. 91 'denacidat', p. 102 'endiendame', p. 251 'deologos') and one of *t* for *d* (p. 328 'tur-ante'). There is haplography on p. 128, 'convsko' for 'convusco', and diplography on p. 8 (dygnos de ynfernal de fuego), p. 143 (mas que mas las de), and p. 173 (e avn e avn oy dia). A more complicated error produced the 'vido la oblafaldad tan abominable' of p. 290 (vido la fealdad), due to anticipation of the *ab* as well as diplography.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

The Meaning of Goethe's 'Faust'. By R. D. MILLER. Cambridge: Heffer. 1939. vi+146 pp. 6s.

The title of this slim volume is in itself a challenge. An attempt to interpret *Faust* in so small a compass is provocative and stimulating; the reader, whether he be moved to agreement or to contradiction, is at least compelled to think afresh. Mr Miller takes an aerial view of *Faust*, as it were—picking out what appear to him the dominant features of the landscape. Some of those to whom the work is familiar may disagree with his choice of features; others may feel a certain flatness in the picture as it is presented; many, perhaps, will cavil at the author's use of such terms as Divinity and Will. But the book is readable and interesting; and it makes a genuine attempt to present Goethe's work as a whole and to show the relations between its different parts.

To achieve this end, the author adopts a highly selective method. The six chapters of the book discuss the picture of life presented in *Faust* under six heads. The first chapter considers the various forms in which the evils of life—already suggested in the Prologue in Heaven—are presented in the course of the drama. The second discusses the notion of

divine will that underlies the work, with special reference to Faust's own attitude of mind in the two Parts. The third chapter deals with Goethe's presentation of the relation and interdependence of good and evil, ending with an analysis of the Gretchen tragedy and the part played by Mephistopheles in bringing it about. The theme of return to Nature is discussed in the next chapter, with a comparison between the attitude of Faust and that of Homunculus. There follows a chapter entitled 'The Hellenistic Ideal of Harmonized Will' which treats of the Helena act, and Faust's activities at the end of his life; the final chapter, under the heading 'Will Redeemed', discusses the significance of the concluding scene of the drama.

A statement in chapter IV might serve as a text for the whole work: 'In reading *Faust* it is more important to follow the development of the play as a whole than to follow the development of the individual characters: it is as if Homunculus and all the other characters of Part II had been spectators of the Gretchen tragedy and were guided in their present behaviour by the experience of life that they gained in that episode' (p. 98). It is clear throughout that Mr Miller does approach *Faust* in this way, finding in it not a dramatic or poetic but a philosophical unity; the recurrence of ideas is more significant to him than sequence of events or development of character. On occasion indeed, disregard of these is pushed to the extreme—as for example in the passage: 'They [the people in "Vor dem Tor"] are men in the full sense of the word, that is they are men of a high degree of will. . . . Faust sees the good side of this increase in the degree of their will: it is he who says they have found their true heaven. Wagner sees its bad side: he complains that they are behaving as though they were possessed by an evil spirit:

Sie toben wie vom bösen Geist getrieben (947).

And the unhappy consequences of their increased freedom are seen in the drunken orgy in Auerbach's Keller:

Das Volk ist frei, seht an, wie wohl's ihm geht! (2295)....'

Character indeed is seen throughout wholly in terms of Will; and more particularly as a 'high' or 'low' degree of will. Gretchen is described as 'originally and by nature a low degree of will' (p. 92); her dramatic feeling of foreboding when she re-enters her room after Faust and Mephistopheles have left it is explained as her observation of a 'change of atmosphere that has resulted from the presence of two such high degrees of will' (p. 91). Faust is described as alternating between two degrees of will; at the beginning of Part II he 'feels constrained to return to a lower degree of will: the rising sun, which symbolizes a high degree of will, dazzles him and compels him to look down to the ground' (p. 96). Again 'it is Faust's fate that he is susceptible to both appeals, to the appeal of a high degree of will and to the appeal of a low degree of will' (p. 82). When the reader finds that the two philosophers Thales and

Anaxagoras, and their differing views of the origin of organic life, are also explained in these terms (pp. 103 f.), he may indeed feel the emphasis on this idea to be excessive. But it is in fact the persistent pursuit of the idea which gives coherence to Mr Miller's picture of *Faust*. He insists on the close connexion in the poem between intensity of striving and magnitude of sin; and his conclusion is one which stresses to an unusual degree Goethe's perception of the tragic side of human endeavour: 'There remains then the picture of a world of willing entities, striving for one object after another, finding satisfaction in none, yet content to go on striving in compliance with the demand of their own nature; related to each other, growths from the same root, branches of the same stem, filled with the same vital sap, yet conflicting with each other, causing injury to each other, destroying each other; like a tree, transfused with a divine force or will, in its root at one with itself, reposing within itself, and perfect, but in its branches divided against itself, straining away from itself, and imperfect; the tree of good and evil, the tree of life' (p. 146). The book throws light on many individual passages in *Faust*; and however much or little the reader may approve its concentration on the philosophical basis of the poem or the terminology which the author uses, he will find pleasure in its interesting comments, as well as in the zest with which the author approaches his subject.

EDNA PURDIE.

LONDON.

Rainer Maria Rilke. Fifty Selected Poems with English Translations. By C. F. MACINTYRE. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1940. 151 pp. \$2.00.

It is easier to write about Rilke than to translate him. The translator, like the critic, is constantly faced with the task of interpretation, and has then to find equivalents for the many subtleties of thought, word, metaphor and rhythm, which the commentator can easily overlook, but without a just appreciation of which no valid estimate of Rilke's work is possible.

Mr MacIntyre has undertaken the tasks of both the critic and the translator. To some extent he has simplified them, by exercising his right of selection. It is his 'own' Rilke with whom he is chiefly concerned, i.e. the Rilke of the *Buch der Bilder* and the *Neue Gedichte*. He shares with others the feeling that here 'the illusion of Rilke's performance has been consummate', whereas 'after he finished the last of these books, a great artist began to grow dim' (Introd. p. 2). In seeking out the 'artist', he must avert his eyes from the later evangelist, for whom thought, words, images and rhythms have become so many hieroglyphs of a profound faith. It may indeed be unwise to call this later Rilke a poet without qualification, and it is certainly false to talk of him as a philosopher or a thinker. But it still remains the essential task of Rilke criticism (especially since the publication of E. C. Mason's searching

book) to assess the Elegies, the Sonnets and the later Poems at their true artistic worth, by distinguishing them clearly from purely intellectual or purely emotional poetic works.

Mr MacIntyre did not have to face this difficult question. But his bias does prevent him from understanding fully the thought which is contained in some of the *Neue Gedichte*. This insufficiency is most noticeable in poems like *Der Einsame* (p. 118) and *Der Schwan* (p. 68). Other inadequacies are due to the translator's omissions and additions. A striking example is to be found in *Archaischer Torso Apollos* (p. 90), to which reference is made in the note (p. 140); by adding the notion of 'burning' in line 8 of the poem, the translator has elicited the justifiable misgivings of the 'more intuitive sex' against the judgment of his 'male advisers'.

No translator can fully escape the danger of explaining his author while rendering him, a danger which in the case of Rilke's compressed and suggestive poetry would spell nullification of the highest achievement. Mr MacIntyre has shown admirable restraint here and, while he has not entirely succeeded in finding the equivalents of such significant Rilkian words as 'verheimlicht' (p. 27), 'verrufen' (p. 104), 'verschloss' (p. 110), 'verzog' (ibid.), he recaptures others with great felicity, and clearly shows that he is aware of the formal and melodic perfections of the poems selected and translated by him, as well as the difficulties he had to face. By choosing the medium of translation he has, a poet himself, paid his highest tribute to Rilke's genius.

E. L. STAHL.

OXFORD.

A Study of the Relation of the Dutch Lancelot and the Flemish Perchevael Fragments to the Manuscripts of Chrétien's 'Conte del Graal'. By Sister MARY ROSINA FUEHRER. (*Catholic University of America Studies in German*, xiv.) Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1939. xii + 163 pp.

This is a conscientious, workmanlike, at the same time somewhat arid dissertation on a subject which, tackled with a greater degree of perspicuity and boldness, would have been the reverse of arid. In themselves, the investigations are impeccably thorough, the individual statements well rounded off; but there is no apparent attempt to co-ordinate them, though the final summary implies that co-ordination has been effected (behind the scenes).

The introduction gives an adequate account of the Flemish *Perchevael* fragments and of the Dutch *Lancelot*, endorsing the view of Jan de Winkel that the Flemish fragments are parts of an otherwise lost translation of Chrétien's *Conte del Graal*, the corresponding Dutch text an abridgement of the Flemish. The writer's own aim is, as stated, 'to find out, by comparison of the three Flemish fragments and the Dutch *Lancelot* with the

extant Chrétien MSS., which of these MSS. or groups of MSS. can be considered the source for the Flemish and Dutch versions.' She adds that 'in the course of this investigation Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Crone* have been incidentally consulted, especially in the case of disagreement between the Netherland versions and the French MSS.', and suggests very reasonably that 'if in such a case the Flemish and Dutch texts agree with Wolfram's *Parzival* and with the *Crone*, additional information on the Wolfram-Chrétien problem may be furnished'.

The textual comparisons are carried out with extreme care, but, as already mentioned, in such a way that in proceeding from one section to another one can scarcely see the wood for the trees. The breaking up of the texts into a long succession of very brief passages, each of them treated singly without any subsequent synthesis and with little attempt at a general critical survey, leaves an unsatisfactory effect behind. The concluding chapter gives, it is true, a clear and authoritative summary of the writer's results and of the methods employed by her, but does not in any way bridge the gap between this and the previous empirical treatment. One could, of course, take from the table of references the points singled out by the writer herself as important, and by grouping them anew ascertain wherein their importance lies; but this surely does not excuse the writer's omission of a very essential piece of work.

From the information gleaned on the relation of Wolfram's *Parzival* to the Dutch and Flemish texts where the Chrétien MSS. differ, all that follows is the somewhat dry statement that 'in the lines referred to, Wolfram was not original as has been supposed'.

One is sorry to deal ungenerously with a work which embodies so much patient research and which shows, moreover, marked competence and knowledge.

M. F. RICHEY.

LONDON.

Dutch Poetry and English: A study of the Romantic Revival. By JAMES ANDERSON RUSSELL. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris. 1939. 229 pp. 7s. 6d.

Ernst Robert Curtius used to say that the only sort of 'comparative literature' worth troubling about was the study of the contact of great creative minds. Dr Russell would agree with this view. His book is concerned with the role played by English literature in helping the Dutch to find the way back to their own poetic tradition, symbolized for him by Vondel and Hooft. In his first chapter ('Holland's Heritage') he summarizes shortly the poetic achievements of the seventeenth century, and assesses with great discrimination the work of Vondel, though one cannot help feeling that he is less than just to Hooft. He then wades manfully through the morass of Dutch poetic effort between Antonides van der Goes and 'Tachtig', showing how Poot and van Alphen started a new development by turning to England for inspiration

instead of France, and how Ossian and Thomson, Byron and Scott just failed to bring back the Dutchmen of the day to a true realization of their own past in history as in poetry. The decisive point comes with Shelley and Keats and the 'Beweging van Tachtig'. Dr Russell avoids the temptation of making the English poets' influence 'responsible' for the spontaneous outburst of pure poetry in Perk, and ends with a delicate analysis of Kloos, Verwey and the other figures of 'Tachtig'. It is here that his agreement with the standpoint of Curtius is most marked. He has hard words for those who play 'le petit jeu des influences' with juxtaposed quotations, precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little, there a little. 'After all', he says, 'we are dealing in creative, and not mere translation, values' (p. 172). He is thus concerned, not with the influence of Keats and Shelley, but with the results of their impact on creative minds. His view of the 'Tachtigers' is sharpened and deepened by personal acquaintance. His book is dedicated to Kloos and van Deyssel, and on p. 167 he gives a vivid and moving description of his first meeting with Kloos, then well on the way to seventy. Dr Russell is confronted with the same problem as every student of Dutch literature—the problem of the lack of continuity between Vondel and Perk. His special approach does not discover a continuity which is in fact not there, but shows how English literature in the later stages, particularly the works of Shelley, set men thinking in a way which led them to recover their lost tradition. His description of this process, particularly in its eighteenth and early nineteenth century beginnings, is clear and sympathetic. It leads also to some necessary 'de-bunking' of Bilderdijk, while admitting his pre-eminence in his period.

There are few things to quarrel with in this enlightening book. The severe reduction of 'Holland's Heritage' to Vondel and Hooft, when Bredero and even Starter were crying to be included, is unfortunate. Bredero is surely the purest lyric singer whom Holland produced before Gorter, and the history of his gradual rediscovery provides interesting signposts pointing the way back to the Vondel tradition. It is this tradition, the line from Vondel to Kloos, that Dr Russell is concerned with, but the background to the events which he chronicles is surely the Cats tradition, which, though the villain of the piece, is nowhere mentioned. It is, for better or for worse, part of Holland's heritage, and deserves some treatment, if only as a foil to what Dr Russell considers (and none will disagree with him) the creatively productive tradition in Dutch poetry. Bilderdijk, for instance, represents both.

In conclusion, it is a pleasure to be able to welcome such a penetrating and solid work by an English scholar in a field which the Dutch have kept almost to themselves. The author is evidently as much at home in Holland as in England. One wonders what has happened to him since the disastrous events of May 1940.

LEONARD FORSTER.

SHORT NOTICES

The nineteenth volume of *The Year's Work in English Studies* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1940. 275 pp. 10s. 6d.) surveys the work done in the year 1938. Once more we see the value of the twenty years' collaboration of the English Association, to which we owe this invaluable publication, with the Modern Humanities Research Association, which publishes the *Annual Bibliography of English Literature*. The two sets of volumes should be on the shelves of everyone interested in English literature and scholarship. There is no excuse for insufficient information, which is made readily available in this form, thanks to the efforts of these Societies and to the labours of scholars who sacrifice their days to the service of their fellows.

The names of the Editor, Dr F. S. Boas, and of his collaborators, are ample evidence of the value and authority of this survey. Dr Boas has shouldered the whole burden of editorship, upon the retirement of his former co-editor, Dr Mary Serjeantson, from academic life. The *Year's Work* has owed much to Dr Serjeantson over a number of years. Some old friends of the *Year's Work* reappear, and some new contributors join the ranks, in this new volume, and its high standard of critical competence and vigilant completeness continues unabated.

Among major contributions to scholarship during a very fruitful year we may note especially Mr T. D. Kendrick's study of Anglo-Saxon art, Miss Lily Campbell's elaborate edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, two notable studies of Pope by Professor A. K. Root and Mr G. Tillotson, and two biographies of great importance, Professor Grierson's *Scott* and Sir E. K. Chambers's *Coleridge*. Of major works in progress, we find further instalments of Place-Name volumes, the Spenser Variorum, and Mr P. Simpson's edition of Jonson.

The index has a few slips, e.g. Dobrée, B., is not indexed. For 'Walker, J. H.' (Index and p. 144) read 'Walter, J. H.' And a number of page-references are one page out.

C. J. Sisson.

LONDON.

It is not surprising that the story of Ohthere's voyage from Helgeland to the White Sea, as told by him to King Alfred in the ninth century, should have fascinated Continental no less than English and American scholars and that commentaries upon it should have appeared in many languages, including Finnish, Russian and Swedish. Many of these commentaries are quite inaccessible to the numerous students of the Old English *Orosius* in this country. In his journeys to Scandinavia and Finland, Mr Alan S. C. Ross has taken advantage of his opportunities to examine this specialist literature and, Finno-Ugrian as well as Ger-

manic philologist, he is uniquely qualified to assess it. We are therefore deeply grateful to him for his valuable monograph on *The Terfinnas and Beormas of Ohthere* (Leeds School of English Language Texts and Monographs, Number VII: Titus Wilson of Kendal. 1940. 63 pp. 3s.). Resisting the temptation (for the present) to discourse on other puzzling folk mentioned by Ohthere, such as the *Cwenas*, Mr Ross strictly limits himself to the identification of these two peoples. As much as is extant of the nearly contemporary Lauderdale manuscript is printed in full and the complete text of the later Cotton manuscript, together with a remarkably clear and careful modern rendering on facing pages (though for *westanwind* 7 [Cotton *odde*] *hwon norþan* we should prefer simply 'a west-by-north wind' to 'a westerly wind with a touch of north in it'). Ohthere's *Finnas*, Mr Ross concludes, were Lapps. His *Terfinnas* were the Lapps of the Terskij Bereg near the southern coast of the Kola Peninsula, and his *Beormas* (Old West Norse *Bjarmar*) were North Karelians, Baltic Fenns, whose land was adjacent to that of the Terfinnas. Karelians also dwelt around Kandalaks Bay, and even to the south of it, and it was presumably this fact which led Miss Julia Keays-Young, following Joseph Bosworth, in her annotated map published by Basil Blackwell for Oxford undergraduates (and severely criticized by Mr Ross in his Preface), to identify 'the great river' flowing into the White Sea, past which Ohthere and his men 'dared not sail for fear of hostilities', as the Dvina, or even the Mezen. Convincingly Mr Ross confirms the now accepted view that this *micel ea* was the Varzuga or, just possibly, the Umba. He thus corroborates the evidence presented in that map which has for some years superseded Miss Keays-Young's, published by Professor Kemp Malone in *Speculum*, and now generally accessible to University students at page 643 of R. H. Hodgkin's standard *History of the Anglo-Saxons*. One small point may perhaps be noted here. Mr Ross clearly shows that *gebūn* and *bīn* are really contrasted in the text with *wēste*, 'cultivated' with 'uncultivated', but we are surprised to read that '*bīne* adj. would appear to stand in much the same relation to OE. *ge-būn* p. part. as WS. *ge-sīene* adj. does to WS. *ge-sewen* p. part. of *sēon*' (p. 44 note). It is the unwarranted nominative *bīne* assumed by Sweet, Wyatt and others, that is misleading. Surely *bīn* is a normal past participle in *-iniz* < IE. *-enis* (side by side with *-enaz* < IE. *-enos*) with resultant mutation of the stem syllable, as *cymen* beside *cumen*, *tygen* beside *togen*, etc. A useful sketch-map, produced by means of the Ormig duplicator, accompanies this brochure and short summaries in Finnish and Russian, inserted as loose-leaf supplements, will be acceptable to the author's many friends abroad besides being a pleasant reminder to his English-speaking readers of the cosmopolitan character of the problems so ably discussed.

SIMEON POTTER.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Byron, Poetry and Prose (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1940. xi + 207 pp. 3s. 6d.) is the latest addition to a most excellent series in which the principal writers in English are introduced, in selections, to readers in schools and elsewhere. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch furnishes the delightful Introduction, and Professor Nichol Smith the Notes. It is not stated who is responsible for the choice of representative selections, but most lovers of Byron will be satisfied with this part of the editorial work. The Essays prefaced to the selections are well chosen too, though the poverty of Macaulay's mind stands out between Scott, Hazlitt, and Arnold, who each had something to say, as also has Quiller-Couch.

Quiller-Couch is on dangerous ground when he asserts that poetry in England 'has always been the treasure of a few'. This is very open to question, and leads to false conclusions. He comes near to the true epithet for Byron, however, when he calls him a 'maker' (p. xi). The fluency of Byron is best appreciated at its true worth in comparison, not with a Pope or a Gray, but with weaker fluencies.

Hazlitt decries Byron's prose (p. 7), and it is odd to find that Quiller-Couch has nothing to say of the excellence of Byron's epistolary style, though Professor Nichol Smith, one is glad to see, quotes freely from the Letters in his careful Notes, helpful as far as they go. But certainly they might have been much more extensive. Page 104, for example, is left mainly to the teacher or reader to annotate for himself. There are some misprints, e.g. 'sallise' for 'sallies' (p. 97), 'Let' for 'Lent' (p. 89). And on p. 157 the interjected editorial observation '[see p. 144]' is surely out of place in the text of a letter.

C. J. Sisson.

LONDON.

Professor J. D. M. Ford's Presidential Address to the Modern Humanities Research Association, though it was not (I think) heard in this country, has proved to be the most sumptuous of a long series; for it has been used to introduce his handsome re-issue of Sir Richard Fanshawe's *The Lusiad by Luis de Camoens* (Harvard and Oxford University Presses. 1940. xxix + 307 pp. 20s.). The Introduction recounts the translator's biography, and reviews the critical reception of his work, which 'has become one of the very rare books in the English language'. To one whose most ready reference has been the uncouth Burton, this graceful, if a thought too airy, Fanshawe is indeed welcome. One would play with the notion that Fanshawe has Camonianized the *Lusiads*. In his letters, in one play and in occasional pieces the Portuguese poet delighted in *concetti*, allusions, witticisms and tricks of the mind. The few rejected stanzas which still survive from his twenty-five years' work on the epic have these qualities; from which it would appear that his grand style was not so much simple as simplified, and what Fanshawe gives us might be very like the poem as it first presented itself to the

poet's mind. If not quite the final Camões, the thing is a delight in itself, and its presentation in this edition is of classical elegance.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

Little enough is known about the independent existence of *Charles Chevillet de Champmeslé, Actor and Dramatist 1641-1701* (by Joseph Frederic Privitera. *Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages*, vol. xxxii. Johns Hopkins and Oxford University Presses. 1938. 179 pp. 6s.). On the events of the man's youth, which are largely conjectural, Mr Privitera hazards some plausible theories and is always honest enough, when dealing with guesswork, to point it out as such. Many of these guesses, however, are backed by no less an authority than Professor H. Carrington Lancaster, to whom Mr Privitera freely acknowledges his debt. The author fortunately makes no attempt to whitewash his subject's shady role as complaisant husband of the greatest and most notorious actress of seventeenth-century France. Indeed, as is doubtless inevitable, the section of the book entitled 'Life' tells us next to nothing about the husband and a great deal about the wife who enslaved Racine for a time and interpreted his greatest parts so perfectly that Mme de Sévigné, secretly flattered, hardly bothered to venture beyond a few conventional protestations when she found that her son had become *amant en titre* of la Champmeslé.

But if the biographical part of this book is somewhat thin, and the matter about seventeenth-century theatres in Paris not new though well arranged, Mr Privitera's treatment of Champmeslé's plays is fuller and more successful. There are admirable summaries of plot and discussions of production, sources and subsequent history of those plays that are indisputably by Champmeslé, and material, much of which has already been set on record by F. Gohin (*Les Comédies attribuées à La Fontaine*, 1935) is used to examine the veracity of the legend that La Fontaine is the author of *Ragotin*, *Le Florentin* and *Je vous prens sans verd*. Mr Privitera is stronger on the negative thesis, that these plays are not by La Fontaine, than in the proofs that they are by Champmeslé, but the mass of circumstantial evidence that he sets out all points in this direction.

An appendix gives for the first time in print *La Veuve*, a one-act comedy by Champmeslé produced in 1699 which had remained in manuscript in the archives of the Comédie Française. In a book that is attractively written and well arranged Mr Privitera contrives to do a thing that is specially worthy of praise. He makes his subject interesting and brings out his good points but is saved by a nice sense of proportion from any attempt to turn a minor playwright into a major dramatist.

L. W. TANCOCK.

LONDON.

Fifteenth-century Spanish texts, apart from *La Celestina*, are generally inaccessible, and the special flavour of that epoch is too often taken by report. Professor Trend's *Marqués de Santillana: Prose and Verse* (London, Dolphin. 1940. xviii + 129 pp. 12s. 6d.) is the more welcome on that account. It contains the famous *Prohemio*, recently edited by Professors Pastor and Prestage, the *Refranes que dizen las viejas*, the *Serranillas*, some prose introductions and some sonnets. The *Serranillas* are still supreme, but when we question the artistry of Santillana it appears to rest chiefly on his prose: the first Spanish prose to possess the rarer qualities of balance, rhythm and elegant decoration. Professor Trend has, at all events, blenched at the task of rehabilitating the *Comedieta de Ponza*, the poet's most ambitious effort in verse. There is a chatty introduction for the general reader, together with the modern equivalents of some obsolete words, unsatisfying notes, and a few unwelcome misprints.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

In connexion with the Portuguese national festivities of this year the Trustees of the British Museum have re-issued Dr Henry Thomas's *Short-title Catalogue of Portuguese printed Books before 1601 now in the British Museum*. Some two dozen new titles distinguish this list from the one issued in 1926. There is a geographical index of printers and an alphabetical list of printers and booksellers. The Museum's press-mark is given for each book or copy, and much erudition has been squeezed unobtrusively between brackets.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

The author of *Die Einsamkeit. Zimmermann und Obereit im Kampf um die Überwindung der Aufklärung (Die Schweiz im deutschen Geistesleben. Bd. 83/85. Frauenfeld/Leipzig: Huber. 1937. 265 pp.)*, Dr Werner Milch, is an experienced writer who is obviously well versed in the contemporary literature relevant to his subject. Unfortunately his main title is somewhat misleading. *Die Einsamkeit*, linked with the names of Zimmermann and Obereit, immediately arouses—it would seem, with justification—the expectation of a study of the contributions made by these two writers to the development of the idea of Solitude as it took shape in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. As is well known, both—violent antagonists of one another—set forth their ideas at length in writings which met with a very different fate amongst their contemporaries, those of Zimmermann, the brilliant, ambitious and ill-tempered court-physician in Hanover to His Majesty the King of England, being much discussed and vastly admired, whereas those of the obscure, untutored and mystically gifted little barber-surgeon of Lindau were practically ignored. In such material, one conjectures, Dr Milch

might have found ample scope for an illuminating and fascinating study of differing conceptions of Solitude simultaneously current at a transitional period which was, as his sub-title rightly implies, of crucial significance in the history of the Enlightenment in Germany. In place of this, he gives a very literal account of a lengthy and scurrilous conflict with a sketch of the background of events and ideas.

The author states frankly that his purpose is simply to rehabilitate Obereit: to show that he was a more courageous, a more admirably industrious and a more gifted man than has hitherto been acknowledged, and, further, that his ideas, crabbly expressed as they may have been, were an advance upon those of Zimmermann, more especially in respect of his appreciation of Kant. The form which Dr Milch has chosen for his purpose is the 'Doppel-Biographie', or an outline of the lives and works of the two men. In such a plan, the theme of 'Einsamkeit' *per se* comes off very poorly. To write a 'double biography' of intrinsic worth in so small a compass as some 227 pages would, indeed, be a *tour de force*. What the writer does is to give the main story in outline, with full reference to his sources in copious notes. At times the lengthy statements by the indispensable authority, Ischer, seem to have affected adversely the balance and clarity of his own account.

He would seem not to have known of the admirable study by the late Leo Maduschka: *Das Problem der Einsamkeit im 18. Jahrhundert im besonderen bei J. G. Zimmermann* (Weimar), which appeared some four years earlier than his own work. This is unfortunate as, had he known of it, it might well have suggested a more profitable and convincing form of 'Rettung Obereits'.

G. CRAIG HOUSTON.

LONDON.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

October—December 1940

With the collaboration of PAMELA GRADON (English)
and F. P. PICKERING (German)

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Spanish.

- ENTWISTLE, W. J., Cervantes. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d.
LOPEZ Y FUENTES, G., El Indio, ed. by E. H. Hespelt. New York, W. W. Norton.
SALINAS, P., Truth of Two, and other poems. Translations by E. L. Turnbull.
Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press.
TREND, J. B., Mexico. Cambridge Univ. Press. 12s. 6d.

French.

- GOODRIDGE, G. W. F. R., A Practical English-French Dictionary for English-Speaking Countries. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 5s.
KETTRIDGE, J. O., French for English Idioms and Figurative Phrases. London, Routledge. 6s.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Scandinavian.

- HERMANNSSON, H., Illuminated Manuscripts of the Jónsbók. With thirty plates. (Islandica, XXVIII.) Cornell and Oxford Univ. Presses. \$2.00.

English.

(a) *General, including Linguistic.*

- ADLER, M. J., How to Read a Book. London, Jarrolds. 8s. 6d.
BESTERMAN, T., Early Printed Books to the End of the Sixteenth Century. London, Quaritch. £1. 1s.
Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, The, ed. by F. W. Bateson. 4 vols. Cambridge Univ. Press. £7. 7s. 0d.
English Essayists, ed. by R. W. Jepson. London, Longmans. 4s.
Famous English Sermons, ed. by A. Sampson. London, Nelson. 5s.
HARDING, R. E. M., An Anatomy of Inspiration. Cambridge, Heffer. 4s. 6d.
Hermathena: A Series of Papers on Literature, Science and Philosophy. London, Longmans. 3s.
HUXLEY, A., Vulgarity in Literature. London, Chatto and Windus. 1s.
READ, H., Annals of Innocence and Experience. London, Faber and Faber. 10s. 6d.
THOMPSON, P. W., God's Gold. Studies in Life and Literature. London, Marshall, Morgan and Scott. 1s. 6d.
TREVELYAN, R. C., Translations from Horace, Juvenal, and Montaigne—with Two Imaginary Conversations. Cambridge Univ. Press. 7s. 6d.
WORCESTER, D., The Art of Satire. Oxford and Harvard Univ. Presses. 10s.

(b) *Old and Middle English.*

- BACON, R., Communia Mathematica, ed. by R. Steele. Parts I and II. London: Oxford Univ. Press. 15s.
COULTON, G. G., Europe's Apprenticeship. London, Nelson. 8s. 6d.

- FRENCH, W. H., *Essays on King Horn* (Cornell Stud. in Engl., xxx). Cornell and Oxford Univ. Presses. \$2.50.
- KEMPE, MARGERY, *The Book of*, ed. by S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen (E.E.T.S. 212). London, H. Milford. 20s.
- KNOWLES, D. D., *The Religious Houses of Medieval England*. London, Sheed and Ward. 8s. 6d.
- Middle English Sermons*. Ed. from B.M. MS. Royal 18 B. xxiii by W. O. Ross (E.E.T.S. 209). London, H. Milford. 30s.
- Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by Sir I. Gollancz, M. Day and M. S. Serjeantson (E.E.T.S. 210). London, H. Milford. 10s.

(c) *Modern English*.

- BELLOC, H., *On the Place of Gilbert Chesterton in English Letters*. London, Sheed and Ward. 3s. 6d.
- BENSON, E. F., *Final Edition Informal Autobiography*. London, Longmans. 15s.
- Bibliography of the Works of Edward Gibbon, A*, ed. by J. E. Norton. London, Oxford Univ. Press. 21s.
- Book of Short Plays, A, XV-XX Centuries*. London, Oxford Univ. Press, for the English Association. 3s. 6d.
- BOYD, M. C., *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*. Pennsylvania and Oxford Univ. Presses. 21s. 6d.
- BRADBROOK, M. C., and M. G. LLOYD THOMAS, *Andrew Marvell*. Cambridge Univ. Press. 7s. 6d.
- BROWNING, R., *Poems and Plays*. Vol. iv, 1871-1890. (Everyman's Library.) London, Dent. 2s. 6d.
- BROWNING, R., *The Poetical Works of*, complete from 1830 to 1868 and the shorter poems thereafter. London, Oxford Univ. Press. 5s.
- BUCHAN, J., *Comments and Characters*. London, Nelson. 7s. 6d.
- CHEYNE, G., *Letters to the Countess of Huntingdon*, ed. by C. F. Mullett. San Marino, California, Huntington Library. \$1.75.
- GARROD, H. W., *David Ansell Slater, 1866-1938*. London, Oxford Univ. Press. 2s.
- HAIGHT, G. S., *George Eliot and John Chapman. With Chapman's Diaries*. Yale and Oxford Univ. Presses. \$2.75.
- KILVERT, F., *The Diary of*, ed. by W. Plomer. Vol. iii. London, Cape. 12s. 6d.
- MEYNELL, A., *The Poems of*, ed. by W. Meynell. London, Oxford Univ. Press. 4s.
- Milton, John, *An Index to the Columbia Edition of the Works of*, ed. by F. A. Patterson and F. R. Fogle. Columbia and Oxford Univ. Presses. 84s.
- MUIR, E., *The Story and the Fable*. London, Harrap. 11s.
- O'CASEY, S., *Purple Dust*. London, Macmillan. 6s.
- PHILLIPS, O. S., *Isaac Nathan, Friend of Byron*. Minerva Publishing Company. 6s.
- POPE, A., *The Rape of the Lock and other Poems*, ed. by G. Tillotson (The Twickenham Edition). London, Methuen. 16s.
- RIDLEY, M. R., *On Reading Shakespeare* (Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy). London, Oxford Univ. Press. 2s.
- ROSSETTI, D. G., *Letters to Fanny Cornworth*, ed. by P. F. Baum. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press. \$2.25.
- SITWELL, S., *Of Sacred and Profane Love*. London, Faber and Faber. 15s.
- SMITH, L. P., *Milton and his Modern Critics*. London, H. Milford, Oxford Univ. Press. 3s. 6d.
- STERN, B. H., *The Rise of Romantic Hellenism in English Literature, 1732-1786*. Menasha, Wis., G. Banta, for author. \$2.25.
- WARD, A. C., *Twentieth Century Literature, 1901-1940. Revised and Enlarged Edition*. London, Methuen. 7s. 6d.

- WILDMAN, J. H., *Anthony Trollope's England* (Brown Univ. Stud.). Providence, R.I., Brown Univ. \$2.00.
- WILLIAMS, E. E., *Tragedy of Destiny*. Cambridge, Mass., Editions XVII siècle. \$1.50 cloth, 80 c. paper.
- WORDSWORTH, W., *Poems written in Youth; Poems referring to the period of Childhood*, ed. by E. de Selincourt. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 21s.

German.

(a) *General (including Linguistic).*

- BECKER, H., *Sächsische Mundartenkunde. Entstehung Geschichte und Lautstand der Mundarten Sachsens und Nordbohmens*. Dresden, von Baensch, 1939. 5 M. 80.
- KRELLER, A., *Wortgeographie des Schönhengster Landes* (Arbb. z. sprachl. Volksforschung in den Sudetenländern, H. vi.). (With 42 maps.) Brunn and Leipzig, Rohrer, 1939. 8 M. 50.
- DE RICCI, SEYMOUR, and WILSON, W. J., *Census of mediæval and Renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. Vol. III, Indices. New York, H. W. Wilson Co., 1940.

(b) *Literature to 1700.*

- GRIMMELSHAUSEN, J. J. CHR. VON, *Continuatio des abentheurlichen Simplicissimi oder der Schluss desselben*. Hrsg. von J. H. Scholte. (Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. u. XVII. Jhdts., Nr. 310-14.) Halle (Saale), Niemeyer, 1939.
- ROMPELMAN, T. A., *Der Wartburgkrieg, kritisch herausgegeben*. Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1939. 5 Fl. 25.
- SPONAGEL, L., *Konrad Celtis und das deutsche Nationalbewusstsein* (Diss. Heidelberg). Bühl, Konkordia, 1939. 4 M. 80.

(c) *Modern Literature.*

- BANG, C. K., *Maske und Gesicht in den Werken Conrad Ferdinand Meyers*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (Studies in Germanic Philology, 20), 1940. \$2.50.
- BUTLER, E. M., *Rainer Maria Rilke*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1940.
- GEISSENDOERFER, TH. (ed.), *Briefe an August Hermann Franke*. (Illinois Studies in language and literature, xxv, 1-2.) Urbana, Univ. of Illinois Press, 1939. \$2.50.
- GIBSON, A. M., *Bismarck, Gedanken und Erinnerungen*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1940. 7s. 6d.
- KRÜGER, H. K., *Berliner Romantik und Berliner Judentum* (Mit zahlreichen bisher unbekannten Briefen und Dokumenten). Bonn, Rohrscheid, 1940. 3 M. 80.
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THE ELIZABETHAN TRANSLATION OF THE
'QUESTIONI D' AMORE' IN THE 'FILOCOLO'

IN Boccaccio's long and rambling romance occur the 'Questioni d' amore'. The hero Florio, having been deprived of Biancofiore by her parents, in the course of his quest for her is driven to Naples by a storm. Outside the city he and his friends, on passing a garden where there is a joyous company, are invited to enter. Later, in the heat of the day, Fiammetta requests the strangers to join her and her attendants. Seated in a circle round a fountain, they choose Fiammetta as their Queen. Each of the thirteen in turn sets forth a problem bearing on love. This is solved by Fiammetta; then the speaker in some measure dissents from her view; and thereupon Fiammetta answers the challenge and defends her opinion. When evening comes, the merrymaking is resumed, and at nightfall the company returns to Naples, where Florio takes leave of Fiammetta.

Here was a clearly defined episode, and all that was needed to develop it into an independent whole was to provide it with an introduction or argument, relating briefly the events that brought Florio to Naples. This was done in France, Spain and England, and the work was very popular in the sixteenth century. The *Treize elegantes demandes damours*, which appeared in 1531, was soon reprinted, and a third edition, with certain modifications, followed in 1541;¹ the *Treze questiones muy graciosas sacadas de Philoculo del famoso Bocacio traduzidas de lengua Toscana en nuestro Romance Castellano con mucha elegancia y primor* was printed in 1546, 1549 and 1553;² in 1567³ *A pleasaunt disport of diuers noble personages* was printed by Henry Bynneman, who in 1571 published a reprint, with the new title *Thirtene most plesant and delectable questions*,

¹ Cf. H. Hauvette, *Les plus anciennes traductions françaises de Boccace*, Paris [1909], p. 4. There is no copy of the third edition in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Cambridge University Library or the John Rylands Library.

² Cf. Pio Rajna, 'L' Episodio delle Questioni d' Amore nel Filocolo del Boccaccio', *Romania*, 1902, xxxi, 28-32; C. B. Bourland, 'Boccaccio and the *Decameron* in Castilian and Catalan Literature', *Revue Hispanique*, 1905, xii, 14 and 225-6; A. Farinelli, 'Note sul Boccaccio in Ispagna nell' Età Media', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 1906, cxvi, 96, n. 2.

³ The title-page of the copy in the British Museum bears this date, but the *Short-Title Catalogue*, London, 1926, item 3180, gives the date 1566 with a query, perhaps because the dedicatory epistle is dated '6. Martij. 1566'. However, the entries in the Stationers' Register seem to confirm the date on the title-page. Cf. Arber's *Transcripts*, i, 153 and v, under London, 1136.

entitled a *disport of diuers noble personages*. The same title was used by Abell Jeffes in the edition of 1587.¹ It has naturally been asked whether there is any connexion between these versions and, in particular, between the French and English. Graesse² regarded the English translation as an offshoot of the French. Rajna expressed some doubt about this view, but left the matter open, though he hinted that both the French and English renderings might possibly be related to the Spanish. Farinelli quoted this suggestion without discussion. Hauvette was able to prove that the French version was independent of the Spanish and came to the conclusion that the English owed nothing to the French. He thought, however, that the titles of the later editions both of the English and Spanish versions might have been affected by that of the *Treize elegantes demandes damours*.

When so many possibilities are open, it is doubtless advisable in the first place to ascertain whether the English translator throws any light on his procedure. The title of the 1567 edition, which refers to the work as being written in Italian, appears to imply that the version is derived from that tongue, and in the dedication this is stated definitely, though at the same time it becomes evident that this Englishman was aware of the existence of the *Questioni d' amore* in French. He says:

I do giue vnto you this Italian Disporte, the which I haue tourned out of his natieue attyre into this our English habite, to the end the same maie be no lesse familiar to you and to such others (for your sake) as shall vouchsafe thereof, than it is eyther to the Italian or the French.

On the other hand, no reference is made to a Spanish version, which in itself might well indicate that the translator was unacquainted with it. Further scrutiny shows that there is no contact between him and Diego López de Ayala and Diego de Salazar. The title alone of the Spanish book, which calls the hero 'Philocolo', proves that the Italian text used was anterior to 1538, when Tizzzone Gaetano changed the original form of the name to Philocopo, which is found in the English rendering. In addition, the *Treize questiones* retains the sub-titles which are characteristic of the older Italian editions, and of which there is no trace in the English.

The *Treize elegantes demandes damours*, which was probably based on the edition published at Venice in 1514,³ agrees with the Spanish text in respect of the features just mentioned. These criteria suggest that the English translator knew nothing of the French version of 1531. A close

¹ There is evidence to show that even more editions were printed. *Vide post*, pp. 293, n. 4, 295, n. 1 and 296, n. 1.

² *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, Dresden, 1859-69, I, 456.

³ H. Hauvette, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

investigation of the texts substantiates this impression. The French translator was not always faithful to his source. Occasionally, he was without doubt perplexed by Boccaccio's words, and his bewilderment is reflected in his rendering. Thus at the end of the Prologue he was embarrassed by Fiammetta's allusion to Marsyas:

& con l' aiuto di colui [a] cui queste frond[e] furono gia care, a tutti risponderò secondo il mio sapere: nondimeno io diuotamente il priego che egli nel mio petto entri, e muoua la mia uoce con quel suono, col quale egli gia l' ardito huomo uinto fece meritare d' uscire della guaina de i suoi membri.¹

All that he can make of this is:

& auec layde de celluy auquel les branches furent cheres a tous respondray selon le mien petit scauoir,

whereas the English translator not only renders the passage intelligibly, but reveals his familiarity with the story by mentioning the name of Marsyas:

and thorow the help of him to whom these leaues were alwayes acceptable, I shall answer you all, according to my small knowledge: Neuerthelesse, I deuoutely pray him that he wil enter into my breast, and renewe my voice wyth that sounde wherewith he caused the valiante vanquished man Marsia, to deserue to be drawn forth of the sheath of his members. .

Another passage in the Prologue that was a stumbling-block occurs in the conversation of the hero with Galeone about Fiammetta. The lines, in which there is a veiled reference to Maria d' Aquino, the object of Boccaccio's affection, and natural daughter of King Robert of Naples, run thus:

Il suo nome è da noi qui chiamato Fiammetta, posto che la piu parte delle genti il nome di colei la chiamano, per la quale quella piaga ch' il preuaricamento della prima madre aperse, si richiuse.

The French translator, faced with a difficulty, contented himself with saying: 'Le sien nom est de nous tous appelle Phiamete.' On the other hand, the English version follows the original:

Hir name is of vs here called Fiametta, howbeit the greatest part of the people call hir by the name of hir, thorowe whome that wounde is shut vp, that the preuarication of the first mother opened.

Omissions on an even more extensive scale likewise occur in the *Treize elegantes demandes damours*. Particularly striking is the abridgement of the account in the fourth Question of how Tebano makes the magic garden before returning to inform Tarolfo that his wish is fulfilled.

¹ The Italian text quoted in this article is that of the Venice edition of 1551, as this was the text, though not necessarily the edition used by the English translator (cf. p. 294). For a strict comparison, one ought, of course, to place the French version side by side with the edition of 1514 (cf. p. 290). But the differences between the editions of 1514 and 1551 do not affect the discussion here.

A lengthy passage is expunged, either with the intention of speeding up a slow-moving tale or of eliminating a description of sorcery considered undesirable for the reader. All that remains is:

A lheure sortit de la cite/laissez les vestemēs se deschausse & avecques les cheueulx espartz sen va faire ses coniuementz: desquelz retournant trouua tharolphus qui quasi auoit paour de luy estre trompe pour la longue demoure/et le trouua tout pensif. Auquel il dist. Tharolphus/ce est faict que tu demandes et a ton plaisir.

A further example is to be observed at the beginning of the seventh Question. Here, half-way through the episode of Florio's visit to the garden, Boccaccio pauses to sketch the scene, as the sun pierces the dark green of the laurels, flashes on the fountain in the midst of the company, and kindles to flame the auburn hair of Fiammetta. Then, after Galeone has sung a ballad, explaining the name of the lady, he puts his question. Here again the translator perhaps grew impatient. At any rate he removed both this charming glimpse of the setting and the ballad, merely saying:

Caleō leuāt lame des doulz pensers esquelz par les choses ouyes et au deuant proposees long temps estoit demoure soy retournant vers lhonneste & gracieuse dame ainsi parlant dist. Je desire scauoir tresgrande royne si aucun homme aymāt le bien de soy mesmes se doit enamourer ou non/et a ce demander me meuent diuerses choses ouyes et veues/et venues de diuerses oppinions des hommes.

In all the three instances just given the English rendering takes no such liberties.

Finally, attention may be drawn to a peculiarity of the 1531 version that is due to the Italian text from which it is derived. In the twelfth Question there is an allusion to the sword of Damocles, which in the Venice edition of 1514 runs thus:

Che diletto poteano dare i delicati cibi e li instrumenti sonanti da maestre man[i] a laltre mirabile feste fatti manzi al fratello de Dionysio poi chelli sopra il capo si uide con sottile filo pendere uno aguto coltello.

The French equivalent is:

Quel plaisir se pouoient donner les delicates viandes et les instrumēs sonnans par main de maistre a la haulte & mirable feste au frere de Dionysius puis que luy sur sa teste veit avecqs vng subtil fil pendre vng agu cousteau.

In later Italian editions—for example, in those of 1551, 1554 and 1564, all printed at Venice, we read 'al tiranno Dionisio', corresponding to which the English version has 'to Dionysius the tyrant'. From all this evidence it is obvious that there is no connexion between *A pleasaunt disport* and the French translation of 1531. Nor does there seem to be any reason for thinking that, as Hauvette suggested,¹ the addition of the new title² in the editions of 1571 and 1587 was prompted by the *Treize*

¹ Op. cit., pp. 12-13.

² Vide ante, pp. 289-90.

elegantes demandes damours, for there is no verbal similarity to warrant such a conclusion.

On the other hand, there are clear signs that the English rendering was to some extent influenced by the relevant portion of Adrien Sevin's translation of the whole *Filocolo*, which appeared at Paris in 1542, was three times reprinted in 1555 and again in 1575.¹ Sevin, whose work is superior to that of his French predecessor, translates at first hand from the Venice edition of 1538,² but now and then casts a glance at the earlier version, which gives rise to some blemishes. One instance is to be found in the passage relating to Marsyas. Sevin must have found this puzzling and therefore reproduced the older rendering almost word for word:³

Et avec l'ayde de celluy auquel les branches furent cheres, ie respondray legerement à tous selon le mien petit scauoir.

Whether he is drawing on the translation of 1531 or going his own way, he appears at first sight to be utterly remote from his English contemporary. This impression is strengthened if we examine the names of the persons mentioned in the *Questioni d' amore*:

SEVIN	A PLEASAUNT DISPORT ⁴
Philocope	Philocopo
Fleury	Florio
Blanche fleur	Biancofiore
Flamette	Fiametta
Longane	Longano
Chere	Cara
Clonic	Clonico
Caleon	Galeone
Pole	Pola
Feramont	Feramonte
Montoir	Montorio
Ascalon	Ascalone

Consequently, Hauvette's opinion that the English translator was in no way indebted to Sevin⁵ has some foundation. So far as the text is concerned, it is indeed fully justified. But a comparison of the marginal notes in the two versions betrays their close kinship. It is true that the English translator sometimes adds or omits, but his familiarity with Sevin's notes is manifest. Another feature that he has taken over is the headings of the various questions. In the body of the text he always speaks of the characters 'propounding' a question, but the titles use the word 'propose'. The explanation of this anomaly leaps to the mind if we

¹ H. Hauvette, op. cit., p. 17.

² Ibid., p. 15.

³ Vide ante, p. 291.

⁴ The later editions diverge in some respects. That of 1571 fluctuates between Ascalon and Ascaleone; that of 1587 reads Galeon, Feramont and Ascaleon. In this matter as in others (see p. 296, n. 1) they are less reliable than the edition of 1567.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 12.

turn to Sevin. Thus 'The first question proposed by Philocopo' and 'The second question, proposed by Longano' are paralleled by 'La première question damour proposee par Philocope' and 'La seconde question damour proposee par Longane', and so on.¹

For the most part, however, as the translator himself claims, he is turning the 'Italian Disporte . . . out of his natiue tongue'. An indication of this is to be seen in the list of names already given. Confirmation is provided by such forms as Cicilia, Senna and Danuby for Sicily, the Seme and Danube, while Sesto and Abido, and Pisistrato, tell their own tale.

The Italian text on which the English rendering is based can be established with some measure of certainty. The name Galeone, which occurs in the edition of 1551 and in the reprints of 1554 and 1564, whereas it still figures as Caleon in Gaetano's edition of 1538, rules out the last mentioned and leads us to assume that it must have been one of the three others. This view is corroborated not only by the words of the text, but also by the punctuation, as may be gathered from a comparison of the following:

& quella sentendo sopra, nell' animo si rallegrano. Come uoi potete hauere udito. Paris rade uolte, o nulla entra nell' aspre battaglie contra Greci senza soprasegnale donatogli dalla sua Helena.²

and perceiuing the same aboute them, therewith to glad their mindes, as ye haue heard. Parys seldome times or neuer entred into the bloudie battailes against the Greekes, without bearing some token vpon him, that had ben gyuen him by his Helene.

Before any attempt can be made to discuss the way in which this text was handled, it will be necessary to examine the relative value of the three English editions. The following extracts are taken from the edition of 1567, and the variants found in the editions of 1571 and 1587 are indicated:

1. Prologue: 'Florio'; 1587 'Floreo'.
2. Prologue: 'the heate (*we* not knowing howe) shall be paste'; 1587 omits *we*.
3. Prologue: 'we ought neuer to forgette the same'; 1587 omits *to*.
4. Prologue: 'the going about to search forth the which'; 1587 'for the whiche'.
5. Prologue: 'it should rather be an increaser of their mirth'; 1587 omits *their*.
6. Question 3: 'although my surname (being Cara) presenteth me grateful to the hearers'; 1587 *heares*.
7. Question 4: 'but after that his ayme did certainly assure him to be a man'; 1587 *allure*.
8. Ibid.: 'out of Libia, he brought tongs of venemous serpêts'; 1587 *Lyvia* and *lungs*.
9. Ibid.: 'on hys right hād that of Hecates: and on the left that of the renning goddesse'; 1571 *running*; 1587 *runnyng*.

¹ The 1531 edition has titles which display some similarity to those of the English translation, but they do not tally so closely as the headings in Sevin's version. For example—'La premiere question d'amour'.

² A different tradition exists elsewhere. Thus in the edition of Moutier, Florence, 1827-34, we read '...E come voi potete avere udito, Paris etc.'

10. Ibid.: '& with gathered bloud oftentimes he besprent the blasing brandes'; 1571 and 1587 *reached*.
11. Ibid.: 'knowing *howe* he came as farre as from Thessalia into Spayne, hasarding him self to perillous chaunces thorow doubtfull iorneyes and vncertayne *awrs*'; 1587 omits *howe*; 1571 and 1587 read *ayre*.
12. Ibid. 'This honour if men with humilitie seeke to support it, it maketh them friendes to God, and so by consequent to liue, and after death, to possesse the goodes eternal. the which if the woman conserueth *for* hir husbände, he may liue merily, and certaine of his ofspring'; 1587 *frö*.
13. Ibid.: 'he perceiueth him selfe thorowe this disordred *vice* to bee caried in the mouthes of the veriest misers'; 1587 *voyce*.
14. Ibid.: 'Pouertie is the refused riches, a goodnesse vnknownen, a *flier* of prouocations, the whiche was of Diogenes fully vnderstoode'; 1571 and 1587 *fire*.
15. Question 6: 'after the admiration conceyued of hir boldenesse, was somewhat *ceased*'; 1587 *crassed*.
16. Question 7: '*as* what time he is wont to do, that thorow a sodain feare doth breake his golden sleepe'; 1571 and 1587 *at*.
17. Ibid.: 'and so went about your crowne, leaping from sprigge to sprig, like a litle amorous birde, that singing doth visite many leaues, mousing youre *hartes* with sundry iestures'; 1571 *hearte*; 1587 *heart*.
18. Ibid.: 'And to speake *reasonably*'; 1587 *vnreasonably*.
19. Ibid.: 'the *vnworthy* occupier of the libertie of others'; 1587 *worthie*.
20. Question 8: 'But notwithstandyng & *discrete* in such cases procede by a secrete way'; 1587 *desert*.
21. Ibid.: 'But what shall he be *ÿ* will passe *Pisistrato* in crueltie, hauing offended thē which loued *his* without forethynking that which he should afterwarde haue done to those that had had the same in harte'; 1587 *Pesistrato* and *hym*.
22. Question 11: 'We confesse, that *if* it were possible to beholde without feare, it should be a greate delight'; 1587 omits *if*.
23. Question 12: 'he sawe one day a poore olde woman, wrinkled, *and* of an orange tawnie colour'; 1587 *out*.
24. Ibid.: 'In this woman his heart gaue him to repose his whole trust, imagining that *she* should neuer be had in suspicion'; 1571 *he*; 1587 *hee*.
25. Ibid.: 'in taking the olde woman, before the yeare be complete; the which shall neuer seeme to waxe lesse, the yong woman may die, and hir brethrē repent them of this they haue done, either else she may be giuen to some other, or peraduenture stolne away, so that after one euill, there shall follow a worse to the taker. But contrariwise, if *ÿ* yong woman shall be taken, the taker shall therby haue his desire so long tyme of him desired'; 1587 *man*.¹
26. Conclusion: 'Fiammetta, moste reuerente Queene of this amorous people, raised hir *on foote*'; 1587 *one*.

¹ The story is that of the enforced choice imposed on a young man who has been wooing a lady without the consent of her family. Her brothers insist that he shall choose between the lady and an old woman whom he has employed as a messenger, adding certain conditions which make it difficult for him to decide. Fiammetta says that if he were to take the old woman first, his pains might all be thrown away, for the young one might die or be removed from his reach in some fashion. On the other hand, if the young woman is taken by him ('se la giouane fia presa') he will have the pleasure of attaining his desire, and some means may be devised by which to avoid association with the old crone.

In the editions of 1567 and 1571 'se la giouane fia presa' is correctly translated. But the substitution of 'man' for 'woman' in 1587 makes it appear as if Boccaccio had meant that perhaps the young man might die after achieving his wishes and so escape the encumbrance of the old woman.

Oddly enough, this misinterpretation is found in Brian Melbancke's *Philotimus* where, after relating the story, he continues: 'The Queene of a companie in a merrie meting of gallants for disporte, hauing this question propounded, gaue resolution, that it was better wisdom to begin wth his misters. & so he should be sure of his ioy: & be better armed to endure the growning crone, partly cloied with former pleasure, partly with remembrance of his first customer, & who knowes said she whether hee shall liue a yeare or no.' The mis-

This survey reveals how the text undergoes a progressive deterioration. The 1571 edition introduces a number of errors; the 1587 edition incorporates these and adds many more.¹ The authority of the 1567 edition is manifestly beyond all question. Even here, however, there are some faulty passages, where the blunders are due to the printer. Thus in No. 17 above, 'mouing youre *hartes* with sundry iestures', if compared with 'i uostri *capelli* con diuersi atti mouendo', suggests that the translator had written 'heares', which the printer, no doubt influenced by 'mouing', took to be 'heartes'. Similarly, in No. 21, 'to those that had had the same in *harte*' is due to a misapprehension of the word '*hate*', as may be seen from the original, where the passage runs—

Chi saria colui, che Pisistrato di crudelta trapassasse, offeso hauendo chi le sue cose amaua senza pensare imprima quello che hauesse fatto poi a chi haucsse quelle hauuto in odio.

Another instance occurs at the beginning of Question 8, where 'poi che la Reina tacque' is rendered by 'after y^e Queene *blēt*'. It is probable that 'blēt' results from a misinterpretation of 'did end' or some such words. Again, in Question 7 we find 'A little pleasure in gazing in the eyes of Phedra, was occasion to *celerate* so much euill'. This is unintelligible until we glance at 'Vn poco di piacer ueduto ne gli occhi di Fedra dallo *scelerato*, fu cagion di tãto male', when it would seem that the translator coined a verb 'to scelerate', which was clearly not understood by the printer. Equally difficult are the words of Grace at the beginning of Question 11:

It is come to my tourne... to propounde this my Question, the which to the ende the time... bee onely spent in talke, I shall briefly propoūd,

where 'not' has been omitted before 'onely', as is proved by: 'a ciò ch' il tempo... *non* si metta solo in sermone'. Finally, a little later in the same question '& that it is conuenient for them by sundry meanes to render their proportions to the *animate* vnderstanding' contains a misprint which is brought to light by '*intelletto animale*'.

conception cannot be due to the error in the 1587 edition of *A pleasant disport*, for *Philotimus* was published in 1583. It therefore seems probable that the error occurred in an edition after 1571 but before 1583, though no such edition is at present known. (Cf. p. 290, n. 1.) According to W. C. Hazlitt, *Hand-Book to the popular, poetical, and dramatic literature of Great Britain*, p. 42, item 6b, an edition with a different title-page from any now extant is recorded in the Bagford Papers. As these papers (Harl MSS 5892-5998) are not accessible for the time being, I have been unable to verify Hazlitt's statement.

¹ The discrepancy between the editions of 1571 and 1587 is so considerable that it lends support to the view that some edition or editions intervened. It was somewhat unfortunate that for the reprint issued in 1927 the text adopted was that of the 1587 edition. All the errors, however palpable, are faithfully reproduced, and others, not previously found, make their appearance. The 1927 edition therefore achieves the maximum of distortion.

When allowance has been made for such blunders on the part of the printer, however, there remain certain errors that must be laid at the door of the translator. Only in this way can we account for the following.

1. Prologue: 'And in so long a while, they neuer almost sawe *time to be merrie*' for 'Era tanto spatio di tempo quasi mai non uidero *rallegrare il tempo*'.
2. Question 4: 'and *deawce* gathered the nightes paste' for '& *brina* raccolta le passate notti', where the translator overlooks that it is winter and that the ground is covered with hoar-frost.
3. Ibid.: 'bethinking hir in what sort she might *returue backe according to hir promise*' for 'pensando in qual maniera *tornar potesse a dietro ciò che promesso haueua*'.
4. Ibid.: 'He now knew all the prepared guiles to bee done *unto his coparteners*' for 'Egli già conosceua tutti gl' inganni apparecchiati *da suoi partionali di fargli*'.
5. Question 5: 'this *gentilewomans* tale hath bene so excellent' for 'tanto è stata bella & lunga la nouella di *questo giouane*'.
6. Ibid.: 'shell fysh' for 'conche'.
7. Ibid.: 'O yong foole, persecuter of our power (*and being therwith arriued*) I am come hither with foure yong damsels' for 'O giouane, stolto persecutore della nostra potentia *hora se giunto*. Io sono qui uenuto con quattro giouanette'.
8. Ibid.: 'And to remoue him frō this, *hōpe* hath no place' for 'et di questo leuarlo non ha luogo *sperientia*'.
9. Question 10: 'Is not the witte to *foresee* euery bodily force?' for 'Non è lo senno da *antiporre* ad ogni corporal forza?'.
10. Question 12: 'Nothing is so noysome to a delightfull life, as to remembre, that *after death we shall be founde spotted*' for 'Niuna cosa è tãto noiosa al diletto uuere quanto il ricordarsi, che *al termine della morte segnato ci conuiene uenire*'.
11. Question 13: 'Then the husband asked the wife who she was, to whome she answered: I was brought by this Knight by vnknown wayes in to this place, to that gracious life, that is of euery one desired' for 'Alhora il marito domandò la donna chi ella fosse, a cui ella rispose. Io sono stata menata da cotesto cauallero da quella uita gratiosa, che da tutti è disiata'.

Nevertheless, it must be recognized that on the whole the translator does not strike one as being a mere novice and that he follows the Italian text of 1551 with considerable fidelity. Often, indeed, his choice of words is governed by what he has before him in the original. Here are a few illustrations:

1. Question 1: 'As the Queene became silent, Philocopo answered: Discrete Lady, greatly is your answere to be cōmended: but for all that, you doe bringe me into a greate admiration of that ye haue defined, touching the propounded question, bycause I woulde haue iudged rather the contrary' for 'Rispose Filocopo come la Reina tacque: Discreta donna assai è da lodare la uostra risposta, ma non per tanto molto d' ammiratione mi porgete, percio che di quel che diffinito hauete della proposta questione, io terrei di che lo contrario fosse'.
2. Ibid.: 'We know very well, that in these our reasonings much might be objected against this oure definition, and much also answered to the contrary reasons: But lastly such determination shall remaine true' for 'Ben conosciamo che alla presente questione molto contra alla nostra diffinitione si potrebbe opporre, & alle opposte ragioni rispondere, ma ultimamente tale determinatione rimarra uera'.
3. Question 3: 'many haue endeouored themselues for their pleasure to occupie my eyes' for 'molti si sono ingegnati d' occupar gli occhi miei del loro piacere'.
4. Ibid.: 'of the which three, the one of bodily force (as I beleue) would excell the good Hector, hee is at euery prooffe so vigorous and strong' for 'de quali tre, l' uno di corporale fortezza credo che auanzerebbe il buono Hettore, tãto è ad ogni proua uigoroso & forte'.

5. *Ibid.*: 'But for that (as ye haue heard) their qualities are diuers, I dout whether of them to take, finding in the antique age ech one of these to haue diuersly the courages of women, and of yelding men' for 'Ma per ciò che (sì come hauete udito) le loro qualità sono diuerse, io dubito di pigliare, trouando nella antica età ciascuna di queste cose hauere diuersamente i coraggi delle donne & degli huomini piegati'.
6. Question 4: 'by your licence' for 'con la uostra licentia'.

Occasionally, however, one comes across neologisms under the influence of the Italian, as in Question 5: 'with the fierce vehement windes are sooner broken the stubbourne okes, than the *consenting* reedes' for ' & a robusti uenti si rompono piu tosto le dure querce, che le *consentrenti* canne'. Here a new turn is given to an existing word. In Question 13, on the other hand, 'cogitable' is borrowed long before the first example otherwise recorded:¹ 'being come into a cogitable admiration' for 'uenuta in cogitabile ammiratione'. Another conspicuous instance of the way in which the Italian affects the use of English words may be seen in Question 2, where 'one' displaces the indefinite article: 'and loking forth at my chaumber window, I heard ouer against the same, in *one* other chaumber, two young women', which renders 'rimirando per una finestra, udi affronte alla mia camera in *un'* altra due dōne'. Lastly, even the syntax may be influenced as in the following passage from Question 4: 'Ye shal know that chastitie together with the other vertues, *yeld* none other reward to the possessours therof, than honour', which is the equivalent of 'Da sapere è che castita insieme con l' altre uirtu, niun' altro premio *rendono* a possessori di se, se non honore'.

For all these traces of the affinity between the English version and the original, the former does not give the impression of a slavish imitation. Here and there we chance upon a happy rendering such as 'golden sleepe' for 'dolce sonno'² or 'weather beatē mates' for 'naufraghi'³ But leaving such phrases aside, the translation combines the invariable charm of Elizabethan prose with the richness and stately movement of Boccaccio's *Questioni*. These qualities are reflected, for instance, in the description at the close of how the company departed and Philocopo, with a dignity of speech befitting the chivalrous formality of a knight addressing a queen in her court, bade farewell to Fiammetta:

Thence was heard of al sides the pleasant instruments, and the aire resounding of amorous songs, no part of the Garden was without banketting: wherein they all abode merily all that day, euen to the last houre: but night being come vpon them, and the starres shewing forth their light, it semed good to the Lady, & to them al, to depart & to returne to the citie, wherein being entred, Philocopo takyng his leaue, thus sayde vnto hir: Most noble Fiammetta, if the Gods shoulde euer graunt me, that I were myne

¹ The *N.E.D.* quotes an example from 1688.

² Question 7.

³ The Prologue. Mr Edward Hutton singles this out in his Introduction to the 1927 reprint, p. xviii.

own, as I am an others, without doubt I shoulde bee presently youres, but bicause myne owne I am not, I can not gyue my selfe to an other: Howe be it forsomuch as the miserable heart coulde receyue strange fier, so muche the more it feeleth thorow your inestimable worthinesse to bee kindled, and shall feele alwayes and incessantly, with more effect shal desire neuer to be forgetfull of your worthinesse. She thāked Philocopo gretly of this curtesy at his departure, adding that it would please the Gods quickly to bryng a gracious peace to his desires.

If, as has been illustrated, the English translator's command of Italian was sometimes imperfect, by way of compensation he had some familiarity with classical lore. Naturally, such knowledge can only be displayed sporadically, but now and then it does become plain. Attention has already been drawn to his insertion of a specific reference to Marsyas.¹ Similarly, when the Italian text merely tells of how 'Paolo' overcame 'Perse', this is expanded in the English version, so that we read of 'Paulus Æmilius vanquishyng Perses, king of Macedonia'.² Again he finds it necessary to be more precise when his source speaks of the flame that appeared to 'Tullo picciolo garzone' and so he writes of 'Seruius Tullus a little boye'.³ In view of these facts it seems curious that in the allusion to Hero and Leander he should retain the Italian forms 'Sisto' and 'Abido'⁴ and elsewhere 'Pisistrato'.⁵ But this anomaly is presumably the result of his carelessness rather than of his ignorance.

There can be no doubt that the numerous classical parallels cited in the *Questioni* must have constituted a great attraction to a man with such tastes as the translator. It is true that he does not speak of them directly in his dedication. But it is very likely that he had them in mind and, indeed, that they were for him one of the chief features of the problems put to Fiammetta. In spite of his assertion that the reading of the book 'shal bring pleasure and delight', he is obviously not much concerned with the good stories that it contains, two of which were told again in the *Decameron*.⁶ He gives no sign either of grasping the relation between the device of narration in the earlier and the later work or of appreciating the skilful design and perfect symmetry of the *Questioni*.⁷

¹ Vide ante, p. 291.

² Question 4. The form 'Perses' instead of 'Perseus' is probably due to 'Perse' in the original.

³ Question 7.

⁴ Question 12.

⁵ Question 8.

⁶ Questions 4 and 13 reappear as x. 5 and x. 4 in the *Decameron*.

⁷ In this connexion it may be pointed out that the translator, for the rest like other translators of his age, overlooks a singular error made by Boccaccio himself in depicting the company of narrators. As befits a guest of honour, Philocopo is seated on the right of Fiammetta. Then come Longano, Cara, Menedon, Clonico and a nameless young lady, followed by Galeone, who sits directly opposite to the Queen, Pola, Feramonte, Ascalione, Graziosa, Parmenone, and the circle is completed by Massalino. The arrangement is admirable in its balanced grouping, but Boccaccio forgets that Massalino, while on the right hand of Parmenone, is on the left of Fiammetta. He is therefore at fault, when he speaks of Massalino, 'il quale tra la destra mano della Reina et Parmenone sedeva cōpièdo il cerchio'.

Nor is he aware of its autobiographical interest, for the simple reason that little was known by the Elizabethans about Boccaccio's life. Like his contemporaries and unlike later generations, the translator thought far more of him as a moralist and a scholar than as a man and an artist. Hence the importance in his eyes of the subject-matter, which 'being therewithall duely considered shall gyue sundrie profitable Lessons meete to be followed'. Of course, the theme of love in itself was calculated to appeal to the reader, but the problems were presented in a form highly congenial to an age that was still not too far removed from the mediaeval *jeu-partis* and at the same time aflame with enthusiasm for Greece and Rome. It is therefore above all the zeal of the Renaissance that inspires the tribute to Boccaccio as one 'of no smal credit with the Learned, for those his sundry well written workes'. At the back of the translator's mind are *De casibus virorum illustrium*, *De claris mulieribus*, *De montibus*, and *De genealogia deorum*, which combine learning and rhetoric in a manner singularly dear to the era of the classical revival. This preoccupation with Boccaccio as a scholar is reiterated in the designation of the author on the title-page as 'Poet Laureate'. Of course, the term did not acquire its present meaning until Dryden's time and was applied to Skelton and others for their learned attainments.¹ The bestowal of the honour on Boccaccio in the English version may have been due to a vague recollection of the title granted to Petrarch with great ceremony in 1341 or to a belief, widespread in other countries also,² that Boccaccio had gained this distinction. In any case, its appearance in *A pleasaunt disport* must be regarded as yet another proof of the translator's humanistic bias.

The only clue to his identity is the statement 'turned into English by

¹ Cf. W. Nelson, *John Skelton Laureate*, New York, 1939, pp. 40-7.

² A. Farinelli, 'Note sulla fortuna del Boccaccio in Ispagna nell' Età Media' (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 1905, cxiv, pp. 399-400) points out that the belief was current in France, as is shown by the lines of Laurent de Premierfait:

Quam meruit vivens laurum post fata recepit,

Si qua deus pietas et merces aequa labori,

quoted by H. Hauvette, *De Laurentio de Primosato*, Paris, 1903, p. 23. In Italy too the notion must have prevailed, for at the end of a manuscript of the *Filosostrato* belonging to the Marquis of Santillana, Boccaccio is described as 'Laureato cittadino Fiorentino'. It was therefore but natural that the Marquis himself in his *Comedietta de Ponça*, when introducing 'Johan Bocacio de Certaldo, illustre poeta florentino' should say of him 'de verde lauro era coronado'. Similarly, Don Pedro of Portugal in the *Tragedia de la insigne Reyna Isabel* relates how Boccaccio appeared, and

segund fazer suelen los bien enseñados

de laureo verde guirlanda traya

(Farinelli, loc. cit., cxv, 387, n. 1), while Narcis Franch, translating the *Corbaccio* into Spanish praises him as 'soberan poeta laureat', and the translator of *De montibus* styles him 'poeta laureado' (Farinelli, loc. cit., cxrv, 399 and cxvi, 67). Yet one more instance is found at the end of the fifteenth century in the *Llibre de les transformacions del poeta Ovidi*, where the author, Francesch Allegre, presents Boccaccio in the midst of an assembly of 'reverents insignes laureats' (Farinelli, loc. cit., cxvi, 70-3).

H.G.' in the Prologue. The Bodleian copy of the 1571 edition, which belonged to Bishop Tanner,¹ has a note after the initials: 'Henry Grantham'. As the note is in an 'Italian' hand of the late sixteenth or of the seventeenth century, Tanner doubtless regarded it as good evidence. Hence, he ascribed the work to Henry Grantham, adopting the form of the name that he found in his copy.² On the other hand, W. C. Hazlitt in 1867 attributed it to 'H. Gifford';³ but this was contested by Grosart, who wrote in favour of Henry Grantham, pointing out that in 1575 he had translated Scipio Lentulo's *Italian Grammer* from the Latin.⁴ Ultimately Hazlitt accepted Grosart's view,⁵ to which the authors of the *Short-Title Catalogue* subscribe.⁶ In 1927 Mr Edward Hutton argued that 'The tone of the two prefaces' in Humfrey Gifford's *A posie of gilloflowers*⁷ 'much resembles H.G.'s preface' to *A pleasaunt disport* and that 'the fact that H.G. was not very familiar with Italian would suit Gifford, who was an undergraduate in 1566,⁸ better, it may be thought, than Grantham who seems to have been a well known and successful teacher of Italian'.⁹

However, it is by no means certain that the Humfrey Gifford who wrote *A posie of gilloflowers* is the same person as he who was a member of an Oxford College in 1566, the year when the translation was probably made. This student was the son of a Staffordshire knight, whereas there are some grounds for thinking that the poet was connected with Devon.¹⁰ Nor can we be sure that Grantham was a teacher. The idea rests on the assertion of Tanner:¹¹ 'multos nobilium ac generosorum Angliae liberos linguam Italicam docuit.' But this is most likely an hypothesis built up on the information contained in the epistle addressed to the daughters of Lord Berkeley, when Grantham dedicated to them his translation of Lentulo's *Italian Grammer*. The epistle does reveal Grantham's interest in foreign tongues and his desire to aid these ladies in acquiring Italian, but it provides no definite evidence about his calling.

Even if we assume that Henry Grantham was a teacher of Italian and

¹ Press-mark, Tanner 133.

² *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, London, 1748, p. 339.

³ *Hand-Book to the popular, poetical, and dramatic literature of Great Britain*, p. 42.

⁴ *The poems of Humfrey Gifford*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 1870, p. 14, n. 1. The *Short-Title Catalogue*, item 15468, speaks of an edition dated 1574, of which a copy is stated to be in the Bodleian Library. But Mr C. J. Hindle kindly informs me that no such copy is known there. It may be doubted whether the 1574 edition really exists. There was, however, a later edition in 1587.

⁵ *Collections and Notes*, 1867-1876 London, 1876, p. 42.

⁶ Item 3180.

⁷ Printed in 1580.

⁸ Cf. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714*, Oxford, 1891-2, I, 563.

⁹ *Thirteen most pleasaunt and delectable questions*, ed. E. Hutton, London, 1927, p. xviii.

¹⁰ Cf. *A posie of gilloflowers*, ed. F. J. Harvey Darton, London, 1933, pp. xviii-xxi.

¹¹ Op. cit., p. 339.

that the author of *A posie of gilloflowers* was at Oxford in 1566, there are some objections to Mr Hutton's argument. If Grantham had an established reputation in 1575 as one skilled in Italian, it does not follow that he was already so familiar with the language in 1566. Again, in spite of a few lapses, *A pleasaunt disport* as a whole is fairly accurate and assuredly not the work of a mere tyro. Consequently, the chances that it is the product of a young undergraduate in the year before he took his degree are slight. Further, the translator's knowledge of classical lore is in keeping with the command of Latin illustrated by Grantham's translation of *Lentulo*. And as for the prefaces to *A pleasaunt disport* and *A posie of gilloflowers*, a comparison may be held to justify the opposite conclusion to that drawn by Mr Hutton. It is true that some similarity may be traced in the acknowledgement of indebtedness for favours received and the expression of a desire to offer a literary work in return; in the profession of good will or loyalty and dutiful zeal; and the wish for long life for the patron, and, after death, the joys of heaven. Yet there are marked differences. The epistles of Humfrey Gifford are lengthy, intimate and personal, as when he speaks with gratitude of Edward Cope as a master in whose service he is allowed leisure to spend among his books—'with which exercise of all earthly recreations I am most delighted'. Moreover, his prose is figurative and has a poetical flavour natural in one accustomed to writing verse. In contrast, 'H.G.' is brief, formal and impersonal.

Such a discussion as this is obviously incomplete, unless the dedicatory epistle of 'H.G.' is placed side by side with that admitted to be by Henry Grantham and prefixed to his translation of *Lentulo*. Quite apart from the fact that Grantham's epistle resembles that of 'H.G.' in tone and manner, there are some striking parallels. Of course, writing to two young ladies like Lord Berkeley's daughters, Grantham does not think it necessary to wish them long life and the joys of heaven, as 'H.G.' does in addressing a man in years. But after his introductory remarks he professes his goodwill and regrets that his ability is not equal to it: 'although myne abilitie doth not answer my good will to further you as I wishe. . . .' With this we may compare 'H.G.': 'taking occasion therby to shew the good wil I haue, to pay in part the debt many yeares due, for that your boûtie towardes me (the least sparke whereof I am vnable to satisfie.' Grantham speaks of the Latin original 'rudely attired with this englishe habit'; 'H.G.' of his Italian source 'toured out of his natiue attyre into this our English habite'. Grantham asks his patronesses to accept the translation 'as a token of the dutifull good will I beare you. And as a

pledge of the seruice and dutie I owe to your parentes' and adds 'humble I take my leaue', ending with the date 'the 4, of December 1574'; 'H. G.' begs William Rice 'to accept this as a tokē and pledge of the good will I haue to performe that whervnto mine ability is vnable to stretch'. Then, after taking his leave, with the same care and precision as Grantham he dates his epistle '6. Martij. 1566'. The resemblance of the two dedicatory epistles in tone and manner, the general similarity in their structure, and the verbal parallels indicate that they are written by the same man, and this, in conjunction with the evidence already examined, suggests that the translator of *A pleasaunt disport* was Henry Grantham.¹

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THE CAROLINE AUDIENCE

DR I. A. RICHARDS, examining the nature of 'meaning', has drawn attention to the importance of 'tone', i.e. the relationship between writer and reader which is suggested through the writer's manner of utterance.¹ Certainly one of the most difficult barriers to negotiate is that set up by a wrong tone in something we hear or read. When the writer has us in view as among his potential audience, he is to be blamed for the erection of the barrier: he should find a way of reaching us if he knows he has something to tell us. But a writer of the past or of another nation than our own is not usually addressing us: his public is very different in its attitudes, conventions, acceptances, and it is to them that his tone must primarily be adapted. Consequently, in our judgment of past literature, we have always to consider the public addressed: we may then see why the tone of a literary work is not the one we most delight in, and may be prepared to recognize that this tone was apt in its context. (We may still reject the work for another reason, but at least we shall be saved from condemning an eavesdropped conversation because its language is not our own.)

This matter of tone becomes particularly important in dramatic studies. We cannot enter a theatre without to some extent partaking of a group-consciousness, which will make our demands on, and expectations from, the dramatist more rigid than are our isolated demands and expectations in private reading. But theatrical expectations vary greatly from one age to another, from one kind of theatre to another. Athens in the age of Pericles and London in the reign of Charles II produced theatres which were about as far apart as theatres can be, and the expectations of the two audiences consequently differed. A dramatist cannot work without some consideration, even if scornful, of his audience, and his 'tone' will arise from his attitude to their expectations. In trying to reach a correct understanding, therefore, of the drama of any period, we must try first to appreciate the character of its audience: only by knowing that so well that we can discount it shall we be able to follow the playwright's meaning unchecked by oddity of tone.

In using 'tone' in this way, we must think not of mere turns of phrase in a dramatist's speech, but of the whole design, temper, embellishments of his work. These, quite as much as the individual words and sentences, are affected by the relations of writer and audience. The chorus, the

¹ *Practical Criticism*, 2nd ed., 1930, pp. 182, 206-9.

static quality, the reticence of Greek drama constitute part of its 'tone', just as that of Restoration comedy is indicated by its use of songs, its artificial balancing of characters, as well as by its tricks of speech. Everything that is part of the medium of communication will be inevitably affected by the writer's attitude to his public, will contribute to the 'tone' of the whole work.

The drama of Charles I's reign has especially suffered through insufficient attention to its audience. The change from the democratic, widely gathered audience of Shakespeare's time to the aristocratic audience of the Restoration is well known, and it is of course recognized in books on the subject that this change was a gradual one, that Caroline audiences were often courtly,¹ but it should be far more generally recognized that many Caroline plays were written for an entirely different public from the popular Elizabethan one. The emotional refinement of Ford and Shirley, the popularity of Davenant, the sense of unease in Massinger, the constant impatience of Brome—are all to be traced to the context in which their plays grew. The audience had not the post-War and post-Interregnum characteristics of the Restoration theatre-public: it was a society that delighted in a new-won gentility, that played a little clumsily with its new toys. Masques and plays were for these people a way of escape from the unpleasantness of political circumstance and a means of cultivating the graces. The popular theatre which they patronized was not, of course, capable of the splendours of Inigo, but still it could spin a charming story to its two hours' length. Some of the dramatists, like Shirley, might move towards the attitude of calm appraisal that marks the Restoration, and some, like Massinger, might feel more kinship with a robuster, earlier age, but the keynote of the years was inattentiveness. The spectators could thrill to a new horror or to a love endangered, but their minds strayed from an idea. Ford is a master-poet in spite of his time, though his lesser qualities are Caroline through and through: the playwright closest to the age is Davenant, who could offer noisy rant, competent satire, or dilute pathos, and never be wholly serious about it.

It is difficult not to take an *ex post facto* view, but the Caroline audience seems like a community of people waiting for its own dissolution, sipping its hemlock daintily.

Of course, not all theatrical entertainment in Charles's time was politely patronized. The Red Bull and the Fortune continued to provide

¹ Allardyce Nicoll, *The English Theatre* (1936), pp. 74-5; Alfred Harbage, *Cavalier Drama* (1936), pp. 19, 149.

rougher fare for city stomachs, but the Blackfriars, Salisbury Court and the Phoenix were all 'private'—i.e. enclosed—theatres with a genteel character.¹ It is for these fashionable playhouses that nearly all the famous plays of the time were written,² and we are therefore justified in regarding this audience as the typical Caroline one. In ruder amphitheatres something more strictly Elizabethan survived, but this is almost as uncharacteristic of the age's theatre as the survival of mystery plays till the end of the sixteenth century is un-Elizabethan.

It may be questioned whether the reign of Charles I can rightly be called a 'period', and indeed one must readily admit that all the characteristics of the drama and its audience that we find in the years 1625-42 are anticipated earlier in the century. There is no major revolution in 1625, but in the years that follow it is evident that slow changes have transformed the Elizabethan theatre. Spectacle, romantic tragicomedy, hesitant gentility of speech and action, make their appearance in Jacobean plays, as do the characteristics of the audience that brought these things into demand, but Charles I's reign can claim rank as a dramatic 'period' because of two things: the new refinement of the court materially affected the drama of the playhouses; and a new school of writers, who came directly under this influence, took on the task of play-writing from their elders. The Queen had a passion for masques and plays, for seeing, 'producing' and acting in them, and her taste was imposed at court. Courtly amateur writers invaded the playhouses, and carried there the Queen's jurisdiction. The professional writers developed their craft in a new atmosphere, which prescribed gentility. Fletcher died in 1625: he was the Jacobean writer most akin in his temper to the

¹ Alfred Harbage, *op. cit.* p. 149.

² Shirley's *The Doubtful Heir* (1640) was intended for the Blackfriars but actually played at the Globe, and it is interesting to find the dramatist doubting its suitability for the vast open theatre: it has

*No shews, no dance, and, what you most delight in,
Grave understanders, here's no target-fighting
Upon the stage, all work for cutlers barr'd;
No bawdry, nor no ballads; this goes hard;
But language clean; and, what affects you not,
Without impossibilities the plot:
No clown, no squibs, no devil in't...
But you that can contract yourselves, and sit
As you were now in the Black-friars pit,
And will not deaf us with lewd noise and tongues,
Because we have no heart to break our lungs,
Will pardon our vast stage, and not disgrace
This play, meant for your persons, not the place. (Prologue.)*

Here Shirley is being over-complimentary to the Blackfriars public, who liked spectacle in their own refined way, but the reference to the more intimate style of Blackfriars acting is significant.

Caroline playwrights, and, though his work seemed old-fashioned to them, they followed his methods and wrote prologues for revivals of his plays. Others of the elder dramatists survived into Charles's reign, but only Jonson stood out against the new temper, and his contempt for the age he had lived into was answered with rebuke. Heywood went on writing with his genius for acclimatization, working the Caroline vein as he had worked earlier ones. Chapman had nothing to give the newer drama. In the place of these men, there arose a group of five outstanding playwrights in the middle twenties of the century, who were to write the best plays of Charles's time. Massinger was working from the beginning of the decade; Shirley, Davenant, Ford and Brome began their careers almost simultaneously with the new reign. It is significant that Massinger was the earliest of them, for he has the strongest links with the Elizabethans. But together they represent a new 'school', which had taken over the task of directing English drama, and their style and temper are sufficiently removed from those of earlier years to warrant our inspecting Charles's reign as a separate dramatic 'period'.

In searching the play-books of the time for indications of the audience's character, we shall find most of our evidence in the prologues and epilogues. These direct addresses necessarily take their tone from the spectators even more obviously than the plays themselves: they are intimate where the earlier prologues and epilogues were impersonal and aloof, and time and again they offer us detailed descriptions of, and comments on, the persons addressed.¹ The epilogue to Fletcher's *Wit at Several Weapons* (1609), spoken 'at the reviving of this Play' after Fletcher's death, glances at the fine-clothed gentlemen and the befanned ladies who are now gathered to see it:

*We'll not appeal unto those Gentlemen
Judge by their Cloaths, if they sit right, nor when
The Ladies smile, and with their Fann's delight
To whisk a clinch aside, then all goes right.*

Brome's *The Court Beggar* (1632) has a long prose epilogue in which the ladies, the courtiers and the citizens are addressed in turn by different speakers. Shirley makes his prologue-speaker to *The Coronation* (1635)

¹ There are signs that the custom of prologues and epilogues fell into comparative disuse in the earliest years of the century: plays, e.g. generally Shakespeare's, are often printed without them; many of the prologues and epilogues in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio are obviously Caroline additions; and Massinger in the dedication to *The Unnatural Combat* (1621) says:

I present you with this old tragedy, without prologue or epilogue, it being composed in a time (and that too, peradventure, as knowing as this) when such by-ornaments were not advanced above the fabric of the whole work.

The resurrection of the prologue, with the change in its character, is itself an indication of the change in audience.

address the ladies as the reigning goddesses of the playhouse, whose nod gives victory:

*But what have I omitted? Is there not
A blush upon my cheeks, that I forgot
The ladies? and a female Prologue too!—
Your pardon, noble gentlewomen, you
Were first within my thoughts; I know you sit,
As free, and high commissioners of wit,
Have clear, and active souls, nay, though the men
Were lost, in your eyes, they'll be found again;
You are the bright intelligences move,
And make a harmony in this sphere of love.*

And this polite romance has an epilogue in which Shirley repeats his appeal:

*If smiles appear within each lady's eye,
Which are the leading stars in this fair sky,
Our solemn day sets glorious; for then
We hope, by their soft influence, the men
Will grace what they first shined on.*

Davenant's *News from Plymouth* (1635) was acted at the Globe during a vacation, and the prologue rejoices that fine clothes and polite judgments have followed the King's Men to their less exclusive summer-resort:

*A noble company! for we can spy,
Beside rich gaudy sirs, some that rely
More on their judgements than their clothes, and may,
With wit as well as pride, rescue our play:
And 'tis but just, though each spectator knows
This house, and season, does more promise shows,
Dancing, and buckler fights, than art or wit.*

But not every vacation-prologue is so confident. Glapthorne's *Poems* of 1639 contains a prologue 'To a reviv'd Vacation play' which addresses itself to the citizens who have been left to fill the theatre in summer: the poet is anxious to believe that these spectators can appreciate dramatic wit and tries to cajole them into living up to his good opinion:

*You are our daily and most constant Guests,
Whom neither Countrey bus'nesse nor the Gests
Can ravish from the Citie; tis your care
To keep your Shops, 'lesse when to take the Ayre
You walke abroad, as you have done to day,
To bring your Wives and Daughters to a Play.
How fond are those men then that think it fit
T' arraigne the Citie of defect of Wit?
When we do know, you love both wit and sport,
Especially when you've vacation for't.
And now we hope you've leisure in the Citie
To give the World cause to suspect you witty.*

The picture of the audience in the prologue to Sir Aston Cokain's *The Obstinate Lady* (1639) is thoroughly Restoration in tone: gentlemen, he

says, come to find wenches or to sleep after food and drink, wantons to look for clients, ladies to meet their cavaliers. He takes up a rather forbidding attitude towards such debasements of the theatre—though his own plays are hardly attractive enough to warrant more serious patronage—but his main interest for us is his recording of them. But indeed we have other evidence of polite bad manners in the playhouse. As early as 1606 Beaumont's *The Woman-Hater* has a picture of the fine gentleman who enjoys the murmuring of 'What Nobleman is that?' as he enters, while all the gallants on the stage rise to offer him their seats.¹ Later a gallant could enjoy female admiration too: Cowley's *Loves Riddle* (1633) has this comment on fine clothes:

doe you thinke your glorious sute can fright me?
 'Twould doe you much more credit at the Theater,
 To rise betwixt the Acts, and looke about
 The boxes, and then cry, God save you Madame. (III. i.)

This graceful gesticulating to the boxes had its humbler parallel: Glaphorne in *Wit in a Constable* (1639) speaks of

city foremen
 That never dare be ventrous on a beauty,
 Unlesse when wenches take them up at playes
 To intice them at the next licentious Taverne
 To spend a supper on them. (II. i.)

But there is no doubt from which quarter the tone was set: the boxes were addressed most intimately by prologue-speakers, the groundlings were treated a thought superciliously.

These gentry of the boxes were not content to exhibit themselves: they stooped to the art of criticism, and the playwright, wincing under the lash, often rebuked them for their arrogance in his prologue and epilogue. The author's retort to criticism appears, of course, earlier in the century, but now it becomes more frequent and directed more against the two-sexed fop² than against the malicious censurer. Marston, who has much to say of critics, speaks as to stray antagonists: in the induction to *What You Will* (1601) he gives us a long discussion of the spectators' expressions of disapproval, and of authors' contempt for them; in the prologue to *The Dutch Courtezan* (1603) he recognizes the presence of enemies:

As for some few, we know of purpose here
 To taxe, and scout.

So, too, in his prologue to *Parasitaster, or The Fawne* (1605):

Let those once know that here with malice lurke,
 'Tis base to be too wise, in others worke.

¹ Quoted by Allardyce Nicoll, op. cit. p. 74.

² Even the foppish critic, however, was not new: Jonson had attacked the species in the induction to *Cynthia's Revels* (1600).

And in the epilogue he reasserts his scorn for

Malitious censures of some envious few,
Who thinke they loose if others have their due.

But the earlier audience had robust common sense as well as occasional malice, as Fletcher readily acknowledges in *The Captain* (1610):

If a marriage should be thus stubber'd up in a play, e're almost
Any body had taken notice you were in love, the Spectators
Would take it to be but ridiculous. (v. v.)

Certainly it is a convenient device to persuade an audience to accept an odd turn of plot by reminding them of its very improbability, but the testimony to their quick-wittedness, however disingenuous, was wrung from Fletcher by their actual keenness of response. When we turn from these early retorts to consider the situation of the Caroline playwrights, we find a mixture of real contempt with flattery. The dramatists knew often enough how shallow were these brocaded judgments, yet not all dared to be other than civil. Jonson, of course, cared little about courtship, and his induction to *The Magnetick Lady: or, Humors Reconci'd* (1632) is blunt:

Dam. But the better, and braver sort of your people! Plush and Velvet-outsides! that stick your house round like so many eminences—

Boy. Of clothes, not understandings? They are at pawne... Troth, Gentlemen, I have no wares, which I dare thrust upon the people with praise. But this, such as it is, I will venter with your people, your gay gallant people: so as you, againe, will undertake for them, that they shall know a good *Play* when they heare it; and will have the conscience, and ingenuity beside, to confesse it.

But Ford cunningly differentiates between the shallow commentators and the genuine understanders, urging his own self-belief thus in the epilogue to *The Broken Heart* (1629):

Where noble judgments and clear eyes are fixed
To grace endeavour, there sits truth, not mixed
With ignorance; those censures may command
Belief which talk not till they understand.
Let some say, 'This was flat'; some, 'Here the scene
Fell from its height'; another, 'That the mean
Was ill observed in such a growing passion
As it transcended either state or fashion':
Some few may cry, 'Twas pretty well', or so,
'But—' and then shrug in silence.

The imagined comments are those of fine folk, as empty of wit and as full of jargon as the stop-watch and stock-term criticisms that Sterne found so irking.¹ Davenant, less bold to burlesque his critics' phrases, could attack 'the over-subtle few' who show 'Some easy wit but much more cruelty' in the prologue to *Love and Honor* (1634), could fearfully remind

¹ *Tristram Shandy*, Bk. III, ch. XII.

himself that spectators 'are grown of late, harsh and severe' in the prologue to *The Platonic Lovers* (1636), could assure the gentlemen, in his epilogue to *The Unfortunate Lovers* (1638), that they had his consent to 'rail at all' while their 'wives and country friends' found only 'a fault or two in every act'. But in the prologue to *The Unfortunate Lovers* he speaks out more plainly, contrasts the present cavilling spectators with their easily satisfied predecessors, and gives us a detailed account of the progress of the theatre from Elizabethan *naïveté* to Caroline sophistication:

you are grown excessive proud,
 For ten times more of wit, than was allow'd
 Your silly ancestors in twenty year,
 Y' expect should in two hours be given you here;
 For they, he swears, to th' Theatre would come
 Ere they had din'd to take up the best room;
 There sit on benches, not adorn'd with mats,
 And graciously did vail their high-crowned hats
 To every half dress'd Player, as he still
 Through th' hangings peep'd to see how th' house did fill.
 Good easy judging souls, with what delight
 They would expect a jig, or target fight,
 A furious tale of Troy, which they ne'er thought
 Was weakly written, so 'twere strongly fought;
 Laught at a clinch, the shadow of a jest,
 And cry a passing good one, I protest.
 Such dull and humble-witted people were
 Even your fore-fathers, whom we govern'd here;
 And such had you been too he swears, had not
 The poets taught you how t' unweave a plot,
 And tract the winding scenes, taught you to admit
 What was true sense, not what did sound like wit.
 Thus they have arm'd you 'gainst themselves to fight,
 Made strong and mischievous from what they write.

There is something of Restoration vanity here: already the writer looks back to a barbaric past, and sees his own age as one of refinement. The chains of an exacting public were sometimes galling, but his very abuse has a more than civil leer. There can be little doubt whence this refinement came: the theatre, as Shirley indicated in prologue and epilogue to his *The Coronation*, derived its doctrine from women's eyes. Davenant himself describes a critical lady in *The Fair Favourite* (1638) as one to whom the 'poets bow' because 'she is so critical'. Such influence operated in a way not unknown in our contemporary London theatre: a new author's name was distrusted, long plays were disliked, some spectators came to hear rather than see, others to see rather than hear, others in plenty only to be seen. That indeed is what Glapthorne tells us in the prologue to *The Ladies Priviledge* (1637), trembling lest his play too should have the 'pitious Martyrdome' that so many suffered from those lithe-fingered judges. Shirley, ever the courtier, is critical of critics in his

prologue to *The Imposture* (1640), but concludes with an assurance of devotion to the ladies:

*To the ladies, one
Address from the author, and the Prologue's done:—
In all his poems you have been his care,
Nor shall you need to wrinkle now that fair
Smooth alabaster of your brow; no fright
Shall strike chaste ears, or dye the harmless white
Of any cheek with blushes by this pen,
No innocence shall bleed in any scene.
If then, your thoughts secur'd, you smile, the wise
Will learn to like by looking on your eyes.*

Before this he had condemned the 'poetic schism' that 'A prologue must have more wit than the play', lamented the decaying craft of the playwright, and bid the gentlemen 'choose your way to judge' without understanding 'too little, or too much'. All might be corrected and rebuked except those alabaster brows and sometimes smiling eyes.

To discover what kept those brows smooth and those eyes sympathetic one has only to read the plays of Charles's time, to see the cult of the vicarious thrill in tragedy, the pleasing long-drawn-out sigh of tragic-comedy, the depiction of current absurdity in comedy. But prologue, epilogue and commendatory verses again give us information directly. The playwrights knew what was happening: though their ranks were on occasion swelled by courtier-amateurs, they were for the most part men of the theatre who had grown up under Shakespearean, Jonsonian and Fletcherian influences; they knew their own pedigree, and had sometimes the wit to be proud of it. Thus Thomas Carew, writing commendatory verses for Davenant's *The Just Italian* (1629), laments the bad taste of those who prefer Red Bull and Cockpit fare to the art of Beaumont or Jonson, and Tatham in verses commending Brome's *A Joviall Crew: Or, The Merry Beggars* (1641) sees Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Shakespeare all brought down in current estimation. Tatham, indeed, warns the spectators against this heresy, just as Dryden was later to remind his readers that an attack on Shakespeare and Jonson was an attack on 'our poetical church and state':¹

There is a Faction (Friend) in Town, that cries,
Down with the *Dagon-Poet*, *Johnson* dies.
His Works were too elaborate, not fit
To come within the Verge, or face of *Wit*.
Beaumont and *Fletcher* (they say) perhaps, might
Passe (well) for currant Coin, in a dark night:
But *Shakespeare* the *Plebeian* Driller, was
Founder'd in's *Pericles*, and must not pass.

¹ Dedication to *Examen Poeticum* (1693).

And so, at all men flie, that have but been
 Thought worthy of Applause; therefore, their spleen.
 Ingratefull *Negro-kinde*, dart you your Rage
 Against the Beams that warm'd you, and the Stage!

The muscularity of early dramatic exercise they rejected for an etiolated gracefulness of word and movement. But at court this gracefulness was splendidly accoutred, and they brought to the common playhouse a demand for spectacle. Inigo was not there to overwhelm the poet with his rich embroidery, but there were devices to hold the eye. Not surprisingly, Jonson could protest, as he makes his prologue-speaker do in *The Staple of News* (1625): the actors, he says, must provide shows for those who come to see rather than hear, but the playwright disclaims responsibility for such accretions to his work. So, too, an elder dramatist like Heywood assures his audience in the prologue to *The English Traveller* (1627) that drums, trumpets, dumb shows, songs, dances and masques are here eschewed: there have been so many in that kind that he wishes on this occasion to try 'if once bare Lines will bear it'.¹ He speaks less patiently in *Loves Maistrisse: Or, The Queens Masque* (1636), where Apuleius says he will keep Midas awake by a dance of Vulcan and his Cyclops, for 'The Vulgar are best pleas'd with noyse and showes'. This gibe is oddly placed in *Loves Maistrisse*, a spectacular fancy in which Heywood ministered nicely to later taste, but the homespun bareness of this man's wit made him at times feel discomfort in the context of his old age. And the younger dramatists could raise a protest too: the prologue to Brome's *The Court Beggar* (1632) asserts that here '*no gaudy Sceane Shall gve instructions, what his plot doth meane*', and Shirley in *Changes, or Love in a Maze* (1632) equates new masque with old jig, contemptuously levelling the tasteful Carolines with the rude Elizabethans:

Dan. A masque will be delightful to the ladies.
Cap. Oh, sir, what plays are taking without these
 Pretty devices? Many gentlemen
 Are not, as in the days of understanding,
 Now satisfied without a jig, which since
 They cannot, with their honour, call for after
 The play, they look to be serv'd up in the middle:
 Your dance is the best language of some comedies,
 And footing runs away with all; a scene
 Express'd with life of art, and squared to nature,
 Is dull and phlegmatic poetry. (iv. ii.)

Most often these protests were mere registerings of discontent, for the playwrights knew well enough who gave the drama's laws.

¹ He had expressed himself rather similarly in the much earlier prologue to *A Woman Kilde with Kindnes* (1603).

Within the framework of the spectacle, the audience demanded a fanciful splendour, a romantic escape into a world where there were none of the threats that they themselves knew but instead elegant menaces that were foreign to them. And these escapes the dramatists gave in plenty: even the sober Massinger spent much of his time in fabricating remote tales, only recurring to the here and now when his critical spirit grew too strong for docile submission. Jonson's chorus before Act II of *The Magnetick Lady: or, Humors Reconci'd* (1632) speaks as contemptuously as Sidney on the subject of rambling plays which trace the glorious career of the hero from infancy to empire: in the details of his charge he must be thinking of the past, echoing his earlier complaint in the prologue to *Everyman in his Humour* (1598), but his

These miracles would please, I assure you: and take the *People*!

shows that he finds no real progression towards maturity. Brome's prologue to *A Joviall Crew: Or, The Merry Beggars* (1641) finds romantic adventures singularly inappropriate to 'these sad and tragick daies', but expresses a willingness to conform to a practice which he thus scornfully summarizes:

*(Our Comick Writers finding that Romances
Of Lovers, through much travell and distresse,
Till it be thought, no Power can redresse
Th' afflicted Wanderers, though stout Chevalry
Lend all his aid for their delivery;
Till, lastly, some impossibility
Concludes all strife, and makes a Comedie).*

But 'sad and tragick daies' have a habit of demanding escapism in the drama.

When they were not demanding escape, the people of this time could welcome a witty turn of speech, especially if personal slander anointed the tip of the shaft. As early as Chapman's *All Fools* (1604) we find a prologue protesting against the personal application of a playwright's jests, and two years later the epilogue to Marston's *The Wonder of Women or The Tragedie of Sophonisba* insists that the play is free from 'taxinges indiscreet'.¹ But the Caroline playwrights, who generally echoed these protests, hint at the extent of the practice through their very assertion of innocence. There are, says Davenant in the prologue to *The Witts* (1634), spectators who demand that the playwright's mirth should

not at all
Tickle, or stir their lungs, but shake their gall.

¹ Cf. the dedication to *Volpone* (1606) and the induction to *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), where Jonson protests vigorously against searching for real-life counterparts to characters seen in a play.

Ford's prologue to *The Broken Heart* (1629) avers that his title lends no expectation of 'some lame jibe At place or persons', and looks back to an imagined golden time when 'innocence and sweetness crowned' the poet's bays. And the prologue (by 'Master Bird') to Ford's *The Ladies Triall* (1638) finds both wit and its perversions a sad falling-off:

Wit, wit's the word in fashion, that alone
 Cries up the poet, which, though neatly shown,
 Is rather censur'd, oftentimes, than known.
 He who will venture on a jest, that can
 Rail on another's pain, or idly scan
 Affairs of state, O, he's the only man!
 A goodly approbation, which must bring
 Fame with contempt by such a deadly sting!
 The Muses chatter, who were wont to sing.
 Your favour in what we present to-day;
 Our fearless author boldly bids me say
 He tenders you no satire, but a play.

The reduction of the theatre from the grand, Gothick proportions of forty years before could hardly have been better conveyed than in this assertion that song had been abandoned for chatter. But sometimes the dramatists would defend themselves from the charge of personal satire by urging that it was the spectators' fault if they found themselves hit when a general folly was portrayed: this is Shirley's defence in the prologue to *The Duke's Mistris* (1636) and the argument that Massinger gives to Paris in his magnificent plea for the stage in *The Roman Actor* (1626). Marmion, however, in the prologue to *A Fine Companion* (1633) claims that the dramatist has a right to brand the vices of particular men, though he himself will not make use of this.

But wit has another string to its bow, a string that the Caroline spectators liked to hear plucked—bawdry. Yet the playwrights are always avowing the chastity of their language, though often enough counterpoising this with the free lewdness of their plays. Shirley in *The Lady of Pleasure* (1635) satirically introduces a gallant as one who 'censures plays that are not bawdy', and in the prologue to *The Coronation* (1635) he assures his spectators that

there doth flow
*No under-mirth, such as doth lard the scene
 For coarse delight; the language here is clean.*

As we have seen, this prologue goes on to invoke the ladies, who traditionally shrink from over-plain mirth. The prologue to his *The Doubtful Heir* (1640) gives the same assurance:

you are
*So far from danger in this amorous war,
 Not the least rude uncivil language shall
 Approach your ear, or make one cheek look pale.*

This play was acted in Dublin, and the prologue is that for the Dublin stage, so that we have interesting evidence from it that the London refinement had captured even the theatre of Shirley's exile. But indeed the bawdry of Caroline years was commonly less gross than that of preceding times: the very professional writer like Brome has rough horse-play in his action and grossness in his speech, but even he makes a disclaimer in the prologue to *The Weeding of the Covent-Garden. Or the Middlesex-Justice of Peace* (1632). This is one of his most vigorous plays, yet he feels called on to assert that

*We shall present no Scandal or Abuse,
To virtue or to honour.*

This is at first sight surprising: we can understand Massinger in the prologue spoken at the court performance of *The Emperor of the East* (1631) boasting that the play contains nothing 'But what the queen without a blush might hear', but Brome had neither Massinger's sobriety nor Davenant's skilful adaptation to circumstance. We must, in fact, see the franker coarseness of some Caroline plays arising partly from the playwright's own desire and partly from the influence of the still not despicable popular faction: the people of the court were not averse to moral grossness, but their taste in bawdry was too cultivated to welcome the easy verbal plainness of the earlier theatre. Cavalier hypocrisy demanded a tissue-paper wrapping for its Turkish delights. Certainly we cannot claim freedom from real grossness in many of the plays, but there is neither Elizabethan orotundity nor Restoration sharpness.

The newer dramatic style was not free from Elizabethan and Jacobean involutions—it could use 'conceits', and burlesque them, on occasion—but the trend was towards a plain dress for thought and feeling. Davenant and Massinger, even Shirley, we read with less care for the complexities of sound and sense than we give to their predecessors, and sometimes the desire for clarity of style is made articulate. The prologue to Shirley's *The Brothers* (1626) indicates the author's preference for plain language:

*He would have you believe no language good
And artful, but what's clearly understood; . . .
He says the times are dangerous; who knows
What treason may be wrapt in giant prose,
Or swelling verse, at least to sense?*

And Alexander Brome, writing commendatory verses for Richard Brome's plays when they were printed in 1653, finds his plainness of style especially laudable:

No stradling Tetrasyllables are brought
To fill up room, and little spell, or nought.

No Bumbast Raptures, and no lines immense,
 That's call'd (by th' curtesie of *England*) sence.
 But all's so plaine, that one may see, he made it
 T' inform the understanding, not invade it.

This development is not at all surprising in view of the palates that the playwrights had in mind: spectacle, romance, the easy wit of slander or ribaldry were the dishes that most pleased, and the way of serving them had to be efficient, untroublesome to the jaded guest. Much criticism of pre-Civil War drama has overstressed the languor of these years: it was, after all, a period that allowed Ford to flourish, and gave Davenant, Shirley and Brome an atmosphere in which they could grow to whatever heights of wit, strength and comic force their own natures allowed them; it did produce a masterpiece in *'Tis Pity She's A Whore*, and numerous works of talent such as *A Joviall Crew*, *The Platonic Lovers*, *The Roman Actor*, *The Cardinal* and *The Witty Fair One*; its general level of attainment was even in many respects higher than that of the early Restoration years. Yet the palates of the audience were sick, just as those of London audiences were between the last war and the present one. Difficulty was estranging, and the easy thrill or laugh was trebly welcome: the more searching study was eschewed for the light relief of a vicarious existence.

Plays of different types could win popularity from their refined audience, but nearly always the characteristic indispensable for success was some measure of withdrawal from the actual. The dramatists of the time were often inclined to comment on state affairs, to express their growing scepticism of the postulates they had inherited,¹ but these things are incidental in their plays. Walter Montague and Queen Henrietta, as author and chief actress, wearied the court with *The Shepherd's Paradise* (1633), but the play had doubtless won the liking of the influential queen because of its remoteness from actuality, its pseudo-Platonic ramblings on love, its absurd disregard of the non-genteel. The court liked *Florimène* (1635) better, for that entertained with spectacle and dance, and could even derive 'a great deal of content'² from George Wilde's *Loves Hospitall* (1636), which exploited the comedy of the blind, the deaf, the dumb and the lame: pastoral or comical might please, so long as the contact with the actual was of the most fleeting. Wilde's play was at least unpretentious, and would go well enough on the stage for an audience not inclined to be squeamish with pity and delighting in a semi-abstract stage-fun. Shirley, with none of Wilde's clumsiness, achieves a similar

¹ In 'Pacifism in Caroline Drama', *The Durham University Journal*, March 1939, I have drawn attention to their growing doubt of military 'honour' and patriotism.

² Anthony Wood, quoted by Alfred Harbage, *op. cit.* p. 141.

Goldoni-like puppetry (without the Goldoni irony) in *Changes, or Love in a Maze* (1632). When confronted with the success or failure of a play in the Caroline period, we must remember this tendency to abstraction. Doubtless it was what made Jonson's last plays so ill-received, what roused his fury at their reception: he could be abstract in method, but his persistent contact with the actual jarred upon current susceptibilities.

When plays of earlier years were revived, the prologues and epilogues often expressed doubt as to the reception the new audience would give them. One prologue¹ used for Caroline revivals of Fletcher's *Thierry and Theodoret* (1616) and his *The Noble Gentleman* (1626) begins by exclaiming at the uncertainty of public taste:

*Wit is become an Antick; and puts on
As many shapés of variation,
To court the times applause, as the times dare
Change severall fashions; nothing is thought rare
Which is not new and follow'd.*

Similarly, a Caroline epilogue used for revivals of Beaumont's *The Woman-Hater* (1606) and Fletcher's *The Noble Gentleman* apologetically describes each play as 'this old monument of wit'.

Heywood, in his prologue to *A Challenge for Beavtie* (1635), claims that English drama has risen far superior to that of Italy or France or Spain or the Netherlands, but laments that now the playwrights imitate their inferiors, forget the lofty subjects of earlier years and write only of 'puling Lovers, craftie Bawdes or cheates'. And Shirley prefixes to his tired and creaking neo-miracle *St. Patrick for Ireland* (1637) a prologue which utters the whole and unpleasing truth about his audience: their sick palates are not even consistent in their longings, and the playwright is distressed that so much labour must go into a play when it is so hastily swallowed and often regurgitated:

*We know not what will take; your palates are
Various, and many of them sick, I fear:
We can but serve up what our poets dress;
And not considering cost, or pains to please,
We should be very happy if, at last,
We could find out the humour of your taste,
That we might fit, and feast it, so that you
Were constant to yourselves, and kept that true;
For some have their opinions so diseases'd,
They come not with a purpose to be pleas'd:
Or, like some birds that leave the flow'ry fields,
They only stoop at that corruption yields....*

¹ We can date it c. 1636, as the revived play is said to have been in fashion 'some twenty yeares agoe': this could not be true of *The Noble Gentleman*, so we must assume that the prologue was originally written for the revival of *Thierry and Theodoret*.

*would each soul were masculine'
 For your own sakes, we wish all here to-day
 Knew but the art and labour of a play;
 Then you would value the true muses' pain,
 The throes and travail of a teeming brain.¹*

The weariness of the fickle public taste, of not knowing what may be the next fashion, is not of course individual to Caroline dramatists: it is reflected often enough in other times and places—in Calderon's *The Devotion of the Cross* there is a poet who despairs of pleasing tastes so diverse as those of clerk and clown and resents that they must be his judges—but the playwrights of this time had special cause for finding the state of affairs irksome. They were not, as a whole, men who were content to write for themselves, depending on their public only for things which they themselves hardly realized, but were essentially purveyors of goods to a difficult market. Often, as notably in Massinger, they would discipline their natural bent of mind, torment it into the fashionable curve, but the continual modifications of this curve made them at times almost lose heart.

This, then, is a picture of the public they addressed, this is what explains their 'tone'. Even Ford, the most independent as well as the finest of the company, inevitably reflects his climate. 'Master Bird' noticed that the Muses were now chattering, and it was a new language for them. They were to learn how chatter could be made into a dramatic vehicle, and then they might speak through Wycherley and Congreve, but the immediate inheritors of the Elizabethan tradition found themselves speaking a strange tongue. Speak it they had to, for it was their audience's, but the syntax was uncomfortably novel and the accidence often politely gross.

CLIFFORD LEECH.

DURHAM.

¹ Jonson had uttered much the same complaint in his prologue to *The New Inn*, or, *The Light Heart* (1629).

‘THE DUNCIAD’

POPE’s *Dunciad* is quite obviously a failure. Even in the twenties, when it was fashionable to quote and imitate the Augustans, it was rare that any passage from it was cited, except the impressive close:

Lo! thy dread empire, Chaos! is restored;
Light dies before thy uncreating word;
Thy hand, great Anarch! lets the curtain fall,
And universal darkness buries all.

These lines, and the passage which they terminate, are clearly admirable.¹ Their formality gives them strength, their cosmic quality gives them depth. They are not faultless: for it is weak and foolish to follow the powerful image of a new God uncreating the universe with the mild one of a puppeteer letting the curtain fall on his stage. As often, Pope’s first version was superior to his later emendation. Nevertheless, these are rich, bold, majestic verses.

But the rest of the poem is a failure—seldom quoted and little copied.² It is impossible to read it without the ‘argument’, it is impossible to remember it without special effort, and it is impossible to admire it without either an uncritical love for Pope’s reputation or an unenviable pleasure in sheer spite. The reader’s repugnance is increased by the ostentation of the various prefaces, notes and advertisements, in which the author is compared with Homer, Vergil, Juvenal, Milton, Camoens and Boileau. Much of that is pseudo-classical hyperbole, or mockery of professional scholarship; yet there is a deadly residue of serious intention. Pope and his friends did believe that the poem as a whole was uniquely valuable; they did think that it was a satire which could be justified by and compared with the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. The baroque age was convinced, not only that it understood the greatest Greek and Latin poetry, but that it was capable of emulating it.

Why should the *Dunciad* be such a failure? *The Rape of the Lock* glistens like a diamond. The *Essay on Criticism* glows like a planet. The *Moral Essays* stab like a bayonet. The man could write satire: why did he fail here?

¹ ‘Mr Langton informed me that he once related to Johnson... that Pope himself admired these lines so much that when he repeated them his voice faltered. “And well it might, Sir,” said Johnson, “for they are noble lines.”’ (Boswell.)

² Mr Roy Campbell’s *Georgiad* and other such poems are written in heroic couplets, with much of Pope’s epigrammatic vigour; but they do not imitate the central feature of the *Dunciad*, its mock-epic framework. Few of the many imitations have independent merit.

I

The first and most obvious reason is the subject. The *Dunciad* is nearly all about worthless authors, journalists, and dilettanti—a worthless, ephemeral theme.¹ Pope himself (writing the *Letter to the Publisher* under Cleland's name) cites this objection in the very forefront, and answers it by a comparison between the satirist and the policeman—or perhaps between the satirist and the aristocratic disciplinarian. 'Were not all assassins, popular insurrections, the insolence of the rabble without doors, and of domestics within, most wrongfully chastised, if the meanness of offenders indemnified them from punishment?' Mr Pope the writer, chastising his enemies, is the noble judge flogging and transporting the vulgar rioters, the hot-tempered peer cropping an insolent lackey's ears. And yet—which is he, really? Is he the judge who punishes in order to mend society, or the angry man who lays about him to salve his own dignity? *The Publisher to the Reader* will tell us: it explicitly says that the *Dunciad* 'attacked no man living who had not before printed or published some scandal against this gentleman', Mr Pope. In fact, Pope has made his enemies into criminals; and it was he who, by publishing *The Art of Sinking*, had made them into enemies in the first place.²

In that case, the poem was doomed to failure. The classical models so often cited to justify it were irrelevant; or else actually condemned it. Latin satire and Greek satiric comedy were indeed written to improve society by pillorying knaves and fools.³ And of course their authors disliked their victims: you cannot really love a man whom you are accusing of unmentionable vices. But few of them attacked purely personal enemies, and none of them wrote wholly, or even principally, from spite. When a classical poet wrote simply to vent his malevolence, his work was not a satire. It was a lampoon or an epigram, and as such its scope, manner and pretensions were inferior to those of satire. Who was Aristophanes's chief enemy? Cleon? Cleon had prosecuted him, and had threatened him with further retaliation for his invectives. But Aristophanes attacked him from a different, a loftier motive—because he considered him to be a dangerous influence in a crisis of Athenian history.

¹ 'The subject itself had nothing generally interesting, for whom did it concern to know that one or another scribbler was a dunce?' (Johnson.)

² 'He thought it a happiness that by the late flood of slander on himself, he had acquired such a peculiar right over their names as was necessary to his design.' (Note to *The Publisher to the Reader*.) Compare the pompous image which Pope applies to himself in the *Prologue to the Satires* (219–20):

I sought no homage from the race that write;
I kept, like Asian monarchs, from their sight.

³ Horace, *serm.* 1. 4. 1–16; Juvenal 1. 19–51.

If Cleon had publicly retired from politics, Aristophanes would have dropped him at once, save for a retrospective sneer or two,¹ and turned to attacking his successors. Who was Horace's chief enemy? Think of the satires: you can remember no one name, except the comic tenor Hermogenes—and he is never attacked bitterly, nor at length. Horace's chief enemy was not one or two men, but human folly personified in friends and in enemies, and even in himself. Juvenal twice attacks the dead praetorian prefect Crispinus, and often the dead emperor Domitian. Some have thought that he had a grudge against Crispinus; many have held that Domitian exiled and ruined him. The second is probable, the first is doubtful. But in any case his attacks are purely impersonal in manner and theme. They are attacks on bad men, not on enemies; they are attacks on public vice, not on private opponents—for instance, they are scarcely more bitter than the posthumous denunciations of Domitian by the younger Pliny,² who had suffered no actual harm from him. If *The Publisher to the Reader* is true, that cannot be said of Pope's satire.

But as a matter of fact the *Dunciad* does not deal with slanderers and libellists. If it had, it might have had far more impetus and cohesion. In book 2 there are eighty or ninety lines about journalists diving into filth; but they are political hacks, who would now be described as columnists or publicists or commentators. They are guilty of nothing more heinous than blackening the character of political opponents. In Balzac's *Le jeune poète* an intolerable deal of tears is poured out for the unhappy young author who is condemned by poverty and evil associations to write political articles for the newspapers. Pope viewed him with no such sympathy; but he dismissed him rapidly and rather leniently. Throughout the rest of the poem, he does not accuse his victims of being calumniators, but of being bores.

And in that lies the chief reason for his failure. Writing badly is one of the least offensive crimes which anyone can commit. The architect who builds a bad house, the judge who frames a bad decision, leave behind them something for succeeding generations to curse, and at last to amend. The bad writer leaves behind him nothing but shelf-papers and fire-lighters.³ If the age admires and copies his style, if he is a temporary danger to public taste, then attack his writing impersonally and in detail, as Macaulay did with Mr Robert Montgomery—and, after all, even that

¹ Cf. *Frogs* 577.

² E.g. *Panegyricus* 48-9.

³ Exception may be taken to this point, on the ground that modern libraries think it their duty to possess and preserve every atom of print, be it nonsense or genius: an ideal never entertained by such great librarians as the Chinese and the Alexandrians. But fortunately paper is perishable, especially in central heating.

famous diatribe is rather like a steam-hammer cracking a bedbug. The attack will be most effective if it parodies his faults. Some of the most illuminating literary criticism in the world is contained and implied in Aristophanes's and Plato's brilliant parodies of other writers. Persius, usually a peevish contorted poet, suddenly breaks into a suave venomous laugh with his parody of Neronian Alexandrianism:¹

They fill fierce horns with Mimallonean booms,
while Bacchant, captor of the proud steer's head,
and Maenad, driver of lynx in ivy reins,
ingeminate Eueo to repetitive Echo.

And indeed one of the neatest pieces of satire in the whole *Dunciad* is Pope's brief allusion to the excellent Hearne:²

Right well mine eyes arede the myster wight,
On parchment scraps y-fed, and Wormius hight.

Even better than parody is a broad general attempt to emend the taste of the age, like the *Essay on Criticism* or the first epistle in Horace's second book. But to abuse and condemn and defile the authors who write badly—to show them chattering like monkeys and braying like asses, diving in mud and slipping in dung—that is beneath the dignity of a satiric poet. It arouses pity, not wise laughter: it is not *ridentem dicere verum*.³ It is too harsh to be funny, and too pèty to be serious.

This point can be well illustrated by a further comparison. The Greeks did not like writing satire. Their passion for the positive and the creative, which kept them from becoming great literary or artistic critics, operated here too. Therefore the Romans could claim 'satire is all ours',⁴ whether on the ground of success or on that of originality. But there are a few quasi-satiric poems in Greek, which are nearly worthy of the Romans; and the most interesting is a mock-heroic epyllion called *Squints*,⁵ by the Sceptic Timon of Phlius. Like the *Dunciad*, it was a parody of epic. Like the *Dunciad*, it derided a large group of the author's rivals and opponents. But there the resemblance ends. For it was a comic description, not of the power and worship of the artificial goddess Dulness, but of the characters and conflicts of the great philosophers. The narrator, it appears, was Timon himself. Like Odysseus in *Odyssey* 11, and Cibber in *Dunciad* 3, he visited the underworld and saw its most interesting inhabitants: as Odysseus met the heroes, Tiresias and Agamemnon and Achilles, Timon met the philosophers, Heraclitus and Plato and Thales. They and their

¹ 1. 92 f.

³ Horace, *serm.* 1. 1. 24.

² 3. 185 f.

⁴ Quintilian 10. 1. 93.

⁵ The curious will find a good text and prefatory essay in volume 2 of Wachsmuth's *Corpusculum poesis Graecae epicae ludibundae* (1885). Its Greek name is Σίλλοι, and its author lived from about 310 to 225 B.C.

companions were all described in amusing pseudo-Homeric phrases—thus, Democritus, who taught in parables, was called 'shepherd of the fables', as Homer's Agamemnon had been called 'shepherd of the peoples'. Timon watched their arguments changing into a battle royal. At last peace was imposed by Pyrrho the founder of Scepticism, who addressed the combatants, destroyed their pretensions, and made them all live at peace under his rule.

Now, although *Squints* is not satire in the true sense, it is near enough to make a comparison with the *Dunciad* relevant. Pope's subject—the miserable obscure authors, changing their lineaments and dispositions between successive editions of the poem—was incapable of powerful or even convincing treatment. Timon's subject—the greatest philosophers of over four hundred years' great philosophy—was practically impossible to mishandle. Naturally, his treatment of the subject is equally superior to Pope's; for it is both reasonable and witty to conceive a Homeric war between competing thinkers, while it is laboured and contemptible to present a collection of wretched hacks as competing in dirty and improbable games in honour of the Poet Laureate. Of course they are vulgar and low. They always were; and to insist on it is to be like the crude wit who is mocked by Persius¹ for

striking heroic attitudes
in dirty clothes, and shouting Fatty at fat men.

It is worth noticing that Pope in the *Letter to the Publisher* adduces another classical comparison. 'We find', he says, 'that in all ages, all vain pretenders, were they ever so poor or ever so dull, have been constantly the topics of the most candid satirists, from the Codrus of JUVENAL to the Damon of BOILEAU.' Now, Juvenal mentions Codrus (or Cordus²) twice, and gives him at most eight lines. He begins satire 1:

Must I for ever listen? never reply,
so often bored by bawling Codrus' epics?

And then, turning to other poets, he leaves him, bruised but not bleeding from one of the swift topical side-blows which are characteristic of Latin satire. Again, in 3, describing the dangers of the city, he says briefly that a poor man like Codrus in his garret suffers far more from a fire than the millionaire whose friends rally round him. It is foolish and wrong to compare this rapid, elegant, glancing whip-lash with Pope's systematic,

¹ l. 127.

² The MS. evidence, for what it is worth on such a slender point, makes the two *littérateurs* different. In the best MS., the bad epic poet is Cordus, and the poor scholar Codrus. Also, they are treated differently: the bad poet is scorned, the poor scholar is pitied. Still Pope thought they were identical.

indiscriminate, boatswain-like knouting. And a still more powerful argument against the parallel is the fact that Pope, unlike Juvenal and Boileau, usually wrote of real living people by name. Satirists have never hesitated to befool or befoul poor insignificant people if they deserved it. But every good satirist except Pope has had enough sense to keep his real strength for really important people. Only important people, whose distinction makes them symbolic before the poet approaches them, can be truly satirized. Others can be lampooned or abused; but satire is far deeper and broader than abuse. It seeks the symbol in the person, the vice hypostasized in the villain.

It might be objected that there is no other way of chastising the insignificant but pretentious author than by making him ridiculous. Something is wrong with Pope's method of making him ridiculous, as we shall see. But I doubt whether it would ever have been worth while to do so, even if it had been done satisfactorily. He has confused an intellectual and aesthetic failure with a moral delinquency, and has tried to arouse bitter repulsion when he should have stirred ironic laughter. Don Quixote, because his delusions were far greater than those of the Dunces, was far more worth satirizing; and yet he is not thrashed with such a heavy hand. Hudibras and his rivals, the church-smashers and king-killers, deserved the poisoned fang; yet Butler made them comical and almost amiable figures. The subject of the *Dunciad*, deeply as it may have satisfied Pope, doomed his poem to artistic failure.

II 1

Even if Pope did choose the wrong subject, he might have redeemed his poem by choosing the right method. Seneca's brilliant satire, *The Pumpkinification of Claudius*, appears to be doomed from the very outset: for it deals with the not very important ceremony of posthumous deification, and specifically with the not very offensive emperor Claudius. It would have been a gross and ugly failure if it had not been written with energy and versatility. But as it is, it is bitter, and versatile, and uproariously funny. Like Byron's *Vision of Judgment* (which closely resembles it) it is a straight narrative. It tells the story of Claudius's death, of his unsuccessful attempts to have his deification ratified by admission to heaven, and of his eventual relegation to hell or limbo. This simple narration, which sets off in the style of an official history and bursts into dozens of parodies en route, is the only possible method of satirizing a pedantic simpleton. The same applies to *The Vision of Judgment*. A more complex scheme than the tale of George's perfectly

passive candidacy for sanctification would have been far too heavy artillery to level at the old idiot. Its matter-of-fact structure and diction at once mock the dead monarch and chastise the living panegyrist. Satire must be simple. It may even appear to be wilful and improvisatory. The protrusion of its machinery ruins it.

But the *Dunciad* is constructed with appalling, with Byzantine, care and complexity. The preface by 'Aristarchus' suggests, half in earnest, that in future it will be considered the comic relief, the satyric piece¹ appended to the trilogy composed of the epics of Homer, Vergil and Milton. And it is not extravagant to suggest that, just as the baroque architect thought his Blenheim a palace worthy to compare with the houses of the Caesars, the baroque poet felt himself bound to copy, in order to equal, the achievements of the classical poets. Thus, the poem is a cento of parodies on an intricate framework of imitation. If this is to be fully appreciated, the *Dunciad* must be read in conjunction with *The Rape of the Lock*.

The plot of the *Dunciad* is as follows.

- (1) The goddess Dulness elevates Cibber to the Poet Laureateship.
- (2) Foolish and filthy games are held in his honour, the competitors being littérateurs of various types.
- (3) In the temple of Dulness, the ghost of his predecessor Settle shows the dreaming Cibber the barbarian invasion of Europe in the Dark Ages, and the new barbarians who are to invade Europe under the rising empire of the goddess.
- (4) Dulness enthroned receives the homage of her courtiers, gives them advice and encouragement, and finally yawns a supreme yawn which restores the empire of chaos and old night.

The Rape of the Lock is far simpler.

- (1-2) Despite the protection of her guardian sylphs, a lock of the peerless Belinda's hair is (3) cut off by the bad Baron. She (4) reproaches, and at last (5) defeats him with a pinch of snuff and a bodkin; but the lock becomes a constellation in heaven.

Both these poems are obviously, in detail as in general scheme, parodies of classical epic and epyllion. For example, book 2 of the *Dunciad* with its games parodies *Iliad* 23 and *Aeneid* 5; book 3 is an imitation of the vision of future Rome shown to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 6. The cave of Spleen in canto 4 of *The Rape of the Lock* copies the field of Hunger in Ovid's

¹ Of course the satyr-play which completed the Attic tetralogies was not satiric, either by etymology or by definition, and satire does not derive from the tricks of satyrs.

Metamorphoses 8 and other such classical descriptions. The Baron's fall is marked by a fine dying speech:

Boast not my fall, (he cried) insulting foe!
Thou by some other shalt be laid as low...

which is an adaptation of the apostrophes of Patroclus to Hector, Hector to Achilles, and Orodes to Mezentius.¹ The fat ghost-poet in *Dunciad* 2. 39 is described as

such a bulk as no twelve bards could raise,
Twelve starveling bards of these degenerate days...

the favourite motif of the *Iliad*, whose 'not two men'² become 'not twelve men' in the *Aeneid*.³ Even that filthy image, the close-stool of Jove in *Dunciad* 2. 84 f., is ultimately a perversion of *Iliad* 24. 527 f., although Pope got it through Ozell's translation of Tassoni's *Secchia Rapita*.⁴

More immediately, of course, both Pope's poems are very powerfully influenced by Boileau's satires. Most English and American criticism of Pope is vitiated by neglect of this fact. Pope knew the classics well, but he knew Boileau intimately. Many of his finest lines and conceptions are merely adaptations from Boileau. For instance, the second line of the famous couplet:⁵

To happy convents, bosomed deep in vines,
Where slumber Abbots, purple as their wines,

is directly inspired by Boileau's *Le Lutrin* 1. 19, 1. 120, 2. 102:

Ses chanoines vermeils et brillans de santé...
D'un vin pur et vermeil il fait remplir sa coupe...
L'autre broie en riant le vermillon des moines...

and 1. 63:

C'est là que le prélat, muni d'un déjeuner,
Dormant d'un léger somme, attendait le dîner.

Similarly, the translation of Belinda's lock to the stars may seem to come from Callimachus, via Catullus 66, but there is no manner of doubt that it was suggested to Pope by Boileau's *Métamorphose de la perruque de Chapelain en comète* (which was beautifully timed to allude to the comet of 1664). Again, *The Rape of the Lock* opens with the poet's question to the muse, as do the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid* and *Paradise Lost*, and its invocation ends with

In soft bosoms dwells such mighty rage?

¹ *Il.* 16. 844, 22. 358; *Aen.* 10. 739.

² 5. 303, 12. 447, 20. 286.

³ 12. 899.

⁴ G. Tillotson, *On the poetry of Pope*, p. 157. Cf. Boileau, *Le Lutrin* 4. 55.

⁵ *Dunciad* 4. 301-2.

which looks like a parody of *Aeneid* 1. 11:

tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

but which is really inspired by *Le Lutrin* 1. 12:

Tant de fiel entre-t-il dans l'âme des dévots?

The exact character of Pope's dependence on Boileau has yet to be determined. These quotations are enough to show that it was very considerable. However, Pope meant it to be ignored, and his debts to the classical poets to be the more recognized.

Both *The Rape of the Lock*, then, and the *Dunciad* are essentially parodies of classical epic. The difference between them, in plan and in merit, consists in this. *The Rape* is a parody of one recognizable heroic saga. If it is applied to its model, the coincidence is almost complete. Belinda corresponds to the passionate young hero who suffers a deadly insult (Achilles, Turnus), and who, after an initial reverse, fells his opponent (Achilles, Aeneas): although—for the sake of the happy ending necessary in such a light poem—he is forestalled by a miracle (like Menelaus in *Iliad* 3). The story is plain and easy; for that reason it can without collapse bear the load of decoration which Pope imposes on it. Notice also that the few imaginative additions to the main scheme are all simple, all vivid. The game of ombre is of course a parody of the hero's aristeia—like the Prowess of Diomedes in *Iliad* 5, of Patroclus in *Iliad* 16, of Camilla in *Aeneid* 11—but the parody has taken on independent life. A weaker poet would have made Belinda's attendants divine: Venus, Cupid, the Graces; Diana for her chastity, Juno for her imperiousness. With exquisite taste, Pope went outside the classical pantheon and chose far lighter and livelier ancillary deities, the Sylphs. Although he used them precisely in the heroic manner—to advise, forewarn, and protect—he made them more immediate and more credible than the guardian divinities of epic. Their charm, their inefficiency, and their volatility could not be better emphasized than by Ariel's delightful explanation¹ that he and his attendants are the spirits of departed coquettes.

But the *Dunciad*, although written in mock-heroic verse,² is not coincident with any classical epic pattern.³ To begin with, it has no conflict, and no hero. Its major character is the goddess Dulness, whose actions

¹ 1. 47.

² The classicist can tell by one glance at a line of Aristophanes or Juvenal when his author is parodying epic or tragedy. The metrical scheme and the vocabulary both change fundamentally. they ascend a comically precarious pedestal, on which they poise for a mock-statuesque moment before leaping down to rejoin their public. But all the *Dunciad* is an elaborate series of posturings on the pedestal.

³ 'The plan, if not wholly new, was little understood by common readers.' (Johnson.)

(even if we exclude her glorification in 4) occupy far more lines than those of the nominal hero, Cibber. She crowns him in 1, she conducts the celebratory games for him in 2, and it is her power, not his, which is unfolded in 3. He is inactive, motionless, supine:

Soft on her lap her laureate son reclines.¹

Scriblerus's preface tactfully evades this point. Comparing the *Dunciad* with the *Aeneid*, he observes that the latter describes the restoration of the empire of Troy, the former that of Dulness. 'A *person* must be fixed upon to support this action'—and so Cibber, or Bayes, or Theobald, or whoever he was in each edition, was discovered. But Cibber does not support the action. He neither fights, nor (after his initial prayer and sacrifice) suffers. He has no opportunity whatever to display the qualities of vanity, impudence, and debauchery which make him (according to Ricardus Aristarchus) the inevitable hero. Doubtless Pope really felt that his principal enemy *was* vain, shameless and debauched; but he did not show him in active exercise of these qualities.

Among many parallels from parody and burlesque cited by Pope and his preliminary writers, one is omitted. For a very obvious reason, the most famous comic hero of Greek epic must not be mentioned. This is Thersites,² whose very name is derived from *thersos*, 'impudence'; and his imitation, Irus, the shameless beggar of *Odyssey* 18. Both these men are violently active and memorable comic personalities. Making an astonishingly malicious speech against king Agamemnon, Thersites tries to rouse the whole Greek army to mutiny. He is garrulous, thin-haired, deformed, the exact converse of the tall straight blond heroes like Achilles. His speech is not applauded; he is thrashed by the wise Odysseus; he weeps with pain as no hero ever weeps; and the whole army laughs gaily over his discomfiture. But it is easy to see why he is not mentioned in the *Dunciad*. Homer describes him thus:

Only loud-mouthed Thersites scolded away...
the ugliest of all who came to Troy,
lame of one foot, and bandy-legged; his shoulders
were humped and arched over his chest; atop
his head was warped, and grew a scanty down.

It would have been fatally easy for an enraged enemy to apply this to Pope himself;³ and so Thersites, although Juvenal and Aristotle both use his name as the type of baseness, is entirely ignored. Yet he is a perfect

¹ 4 20

² *Il.* 2. 212 f.

³ 'He has, in his account of the *Little Club*, compared himself to a spider, and by another is described as protuberant behind and before. His stature was so low that, to bring him to a level with common tables, it was necessary to raise his seat.... His hair had fallen almost all away.' (Johnson.)

type of the protagonist for a comic epic. So is his umbra, the beggar Irus, who threatens the disguised hero Odysseus, lays impudent claim to the position of official beggar in his palace, and is knocked helplessly and bloodily out by one blow from his fist. Don Quixote himself is in constant movement, and stirs others to manifold activity. Hudibras has fights and receives thwackings of positively epic dimensions. Even Margites (who is so often cited in the prolegomena to the *Dunciad*, although only two or three trifling fragments of the poem about him survive¹) appears to have been in incessant action: he was an inverted Till Eulenspiegel, for he tried everything and made people laugh by his failures. Beside all these truly comic heroes, Cibber is intolerably weak. Even the violent vulgarity of Osborne and Curll is more probable and more laughable than Cibber's sacrifice of Gothic works upon the altar of Dulness.

The failure of the *Dunciad* is brightly illuminated by comparison with *The Rape of the Lock*. It was perfectly possible, in fact almost inevitable, for the baroque satirist to make his satire a burlesque of some serious literary type. *Absalom and Achitophel* pretends to be an epyllion on a Biblical myth, *MacFlecknoe* a heroic panegyric in the manner of Claudian, *Gulliver's Travels* a grave book of travel-experiences by a dispassionate but well-trained observer, *The Battle of the Books* a chivalrous romance, *The Beggar's Opera* a lofty operatic drama. The whole plan of the Scriblerus Club and of the Scriblerus notes and prefaces was relentlessly, even tediously, parodic. But the essence of parody is that the parody must improve on its original: it must concentrate the good qualities of its victim, and lighten his faults by humour.² *The Rape of the Lock* is a neat, straightforward, burlesque story of passion and conflict, told in the heroic manner. What the satirist takes from epic, he uses to decorate his poem. The beauty of *The Rape of the Lock* lies in its being a sort of concentrated *Iliad*, like Wagner's *Siegfried Idyll*, containing, or rather implying, all the major beauties of epic. The *Dunciad*, on the other hand, gains nothing and loses much by posing as a parody of epic. The only part of the pattern which is immediately familiar and comical is the Games in book 2. The other episodes do not readily suggest their models, and form no one, consistent, recognizable epic whole. Pope has chosen, not the best of epic, but the worst, to imitate. His poem contains the long pompous epic invocations and speeches and catalogues, without the large far-reaching irresistible action which should bind them together. *The Rape of the Lock*

¹ The Scriblerus notes make one of their graver errors in citing him, for Aristotle explicitly pointed out that the Margites poem was farce, not satire. (*Poetics* 1448 b.)

² Thus, Housman's *Fragment of a Greek Tragedy* would have been unbearably frigid if it had been prolonged for more than one-fifth of the length of a real Greek tragedy.

is a good epyllion. The *Dunciad* is a bad epic. Strange that the poem against dunces should itself have to incur the charge of pedantry. It reminds the dispassionate reader of nothing so much as the hideous affectations of Bloch, the learned Jew who haunts Proust like a banal alter ego throughout the social volumes of *À la recherche du temps perdu*. This, for example, is how he invites the young nobleman Saint-Loup and the narrator to dinner:¹

Cher maître, et vous, cavalier aimé d'Arès, de Saint-Loup-en-Bray, dompteur de chevaux, puisque je vous ai rencontrés sur le rivage d'Amphitrite, résonnant d'écume, près des tentes des Ménier aux nefs rapides, voulez-vous tous deux venir dîner un jour de la semaine chez mon illustre père, au cœur irréprochable?

These laborious mock-heroics are not far from Cibber's invocation to Dulness (with footnotes) and Settle's description of the goddess's imminent return to Britain.

II 2

A divinity cannot be the hero of an epic—far less of a comic epic—unless he is in conflict with another divinity. Without conflict, a divinity cannot act. He can merely manifest his power; and therefore he can inspire nothing but a hymn or a panegyric. Merely to describe the growing empire of Dulness as inevitably and universally established is not enough to hold the reader's attention for four books. That is one reason why the peroration of 4, which seems to relate an invasion and a triumph, is far better known than all the rest of the poem. For a moment, it has the air of real action, of a powerful conflict and a magnificent victory.

Of course, Dulness herself is a miserably thin personification, far less vivid than the classical allegories (Homer's Prayers, Vergil's Rumour, Ovid's Hunger) and infinitely meaner and poorer than the glittering sylphs of *The Rape of the Lock*. Doubtless Mr Pope had some acquaintances who observed (with civil leer) that in order to glorify Dulness it was not necessary to be so plaguy dull oneself.² Still, the basic objection to her is even deeper. It is that no one knows who she is meant to be. What sort of Dulness is Mr Pope attacking?

In 1. 65 her manifestation is incongruity—mixed metaphors,

Figures ill-paired and similes unlike.

She is, in fact, BAD TASTE. Later in the same book³ Cibber invokes her as STUPIDITY, and she approves this designation by appearing⁴ in the

¹ *À l'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs* 2. 202; cf. *Le côté de Guermantes* 1. 195, 210.

² Probably the chief reason for the dulness of Dulness is that she is modelled on an equally dull figure, Boileau's Mollesse (*Le Lutrin* 2. 69).

³ 1. 173.

⁴ 1. 263.

avatar in which she inspires 'shrieves and mayors', i.e. dull pretentious stupid officials. Another incarnation is hinted at in her evocation of her servants, who become famous¹ with

less reading than makes felons 'scape, . . .
Small thanks to France, and none to Rome or Greece.

There Dulness connotes IGNORANCE, for it is implied that if her ministers had read more, they would write better. The games which she institutes in 2 are obscene: her courtiers indulge in the moral equivalent of bad taste—VULGARITY—and are described² as

A low-born, cell-bred, selfish, servile band.

2 closes with a competition that ends in universal sleep (an unfortunate anticipation of the peroration of 4); and there Dulness clearly means TEDIOUSNESS. In book 3 the evocation of the medieval past presents the empire of Dulness as the tyranny of IGNORANCE.³ But the Dark Ages give place to Grub Street's triumph, and there Dulness signifies everyone who ever offended Pope. No common quality can be discerned in the journalist Ralph, the critic Dennis, the stump-preacher Henley, and the impresario Rich. Dennis and Ralph, though spiteful, were competent. Henley was a contemptible crank. Rich was a petty Barnum. All were enemies to Pope, and very nearly strangers to one another. In book 4⁴ Dulness is IGNORANCE once more; but most of her courtiers represent the opposite of ignorance—affectation and PEDANTRY. At last, the peroration displays the goddess as TEDIOUSNESS, the spirit who nullifies all arts, all sciences, and all virtues.

Thus, under one vague allegorical figure, Pope has hypostasized nearly every moral and aesthetic quality of which he disapproves—as Lytton Strachey's generation did under the sinister form of the Victorian Age, as Schumann's and Goethe's did under that of the Philistines. Yet there is a compactness in the Philistine bands and the Victorian phalanxes which Dulness herself does not command. She images not one, but three enemies of the spirit. She heads the regiments of Vulgarity and Bad Taste, who write annoyingly; she captains the companies of Pedantry and Tedium, who write boringly; and she leads the hordes of Ignorance, who do not write at all. This division of interest is one of the main reasons for the failure of the *Dunciad*. Dulness is its heroine, but her character is unheroic, rather perplexing and vague. It is essential to give life and character to a personification, and that is just what Pope did not do.

Consider the three instances I have cited above. The Prayers in Homer⁵ are lame, and have wrinkled faces, and follow slowly behind the bad act,

¹ 1. 281.

² 2. 356.

³ 3. 98.

⁴ 4. 21 f.

⁵ *Il.* 9. 502 f.

always tardy. Rumour in Vergil¹ is at first a pigmy, and then swells to a giantess with her head in the clouds: she has rapid wings, and for every feather on them she has an eye, a tongue, and an ear, watching, listening, and talking for ever. Hunger in Ovid² has his bones showing through his flesh, and horribly swollen joints: he is scraping at the scant grass among the stones with his nails and his few teeth. For that matter, even the pantomime fairy Fame in *Hudibras*³ and in Pope's own *Temple of Fame* has more ichor and less sawdust in her veins than his Dulness. For Dulness is not only vague but self-contradictory. She is described⁴ as shining 'in clouded majesty', and also⁵ as 'tinselled o'er in robes of varying hue'. For the rest, she is veiled in fog,⁶ and yet she has not even the sinister mystery of a sibyl or a witch. It is hard not to believe that Pope described her so badly because he had never seen her clearly. We cannot believe in any one goddess who is worshipped by Bentley and Burnet, Curll and Cibber. We cannot believe that a negative notion could take positive shape. We can believe only that one man could hate all these persons and their works and their ideals. It is hard not to hear, in this universal shriek of loathing and despair, the voice of Gulliver among the Yahoos, who was 'almost stifled with the filth that fell around' him.

In fact, the influence of Swift is paramount in book 2 of the *Dunciad*, and is, though latent, universally effective throughout the poem. In only one other passage of satiric poetry⁷ does Pope dabble in dung. But his friend Swift was the greatest coprophil in English literature. The marriage of excrement to mock-heroic sentiment appears nowhere else in Pope, but it is a major theme in Swift's elegies. Surely it is to Dean Swift's invention that we owe such tit-bits as Curll's slip in faeces, and the reviving effect of the ordure smeared on his face;⁸ for it was Mr Lemuel Gulliver who jumped (unnecessarily) into a gigantic patch of cow-dung and was 'filthily bemired',⁹ and who apologetically but carefully explained how his own 'offensive matter' was every morning 'carried off in wheelbarrows, by two servants appointed for that purpose'.¹⁰ The verse-technique, of course, is Pope's throughout. Swift could never have achieved anything so admirable as 2. 108:

Nor heeds the brown dishonours of his face...

which has the very rhythm of *Eloisa to Abelard* 170:¹¹

And breathe a browner horror on the woods...

¹ *Aen.* 4. 173 f.

⁴ 1. 45.

⁷ *Epilogue to the Satires* 2. 171 f.

⁹ *A voyage to Brobdingnag* 5 ad fin.

¹¹ Cf. *The Rape of the Lock* 4. 135, 140; G. Tillotson, *On the poetry of Pope*, p. 154.

² *Met.* 8. 801 f.

⁵ 1. 81.

⁸ 2. 203.

¹⁰ *A voyage to Lilliput* 2 init.

³ 2. 1. 45 f.

⁶ 1. 262.

However, the tone of furious indiscriminate hatred, the half-crazed misanthropy of the whole poem resemble Swift, who said that if there were only half a dozen Arbuthnots in the world he would burn his *Travels*, far more closely than Pope, whose own satiric poetry is a lighter, clearer, sharper, better-aimed thing than this overarching fountain of filth. Pope satirizes persons—Sporus, Atossa, Atticus. Swift satirizes classes, types and ultimately the entire human race. Think of Alceste's bitter answer to Philinte:¹

Philinte: Tous les pauvres mortels, sans nulle exception,
Seront enveloppés dans cette aversion?
Encore en est-il bien, dans le siècle où nous sommes. . . .
Alceste: Non: elle est générale, et je hais tous les hommes.

The author of the *Essay on Man*, for all his hatred of individuals, could not give such an answer; but the author of *Gulliver's Travels* could, and did.

This point is glanced at, though with insufficient emphasis, by Mr R. K. Root,² who reports the significant remark in Swift's letter to the brilliant Charles Wogan: 'The taste of England is infamously corrupted by shoals of wretches who write for bread; and therefore I had reason to put Mr Pope on writing the poem called the Dunciad.' Swift left England in rage and despair in 1713. In 1715-25 Pope's Homer was acclaimed by the entire polite world. *Gulliver* was published in 1726. In 1726 and 1727 Swift crawled out of his cave to visit Pope. In 1728 the *Dunciad* was born. Pope was its mother, but its father was Swift. The greatest admirer of Pope cannot but feel that he suffered terribly from his association with the crueller, colder spirit: he is like Agnello dei Brunelleschi in the embrace of the snake:³

Ellera abbarbicata mai non fue
ad arbor sì, come l' orribil fiera
per l' altrui membra avviticchiò le sue.
Poi s' appiccâr come di calda cera
fossero stati, e mischiâr lor colore:
nè l' un nè l' altro già pareva quel ch' era,
come procede innanzi dall' ardore
per lo papiro suso un color bruno,
che non è nero ancora, e il bianco muore.

Seventy years later two other poets determined to chastise the Philistines, and to lash, almost indiscriminately, the world of bad critics, feeble poets, and stupid readers. Goethe and Schiller had not deliberately provoked retaliatory attack by publishing *The Art of Sinking*—they had been conducting an advanced but not aggressive magazine called *The*

¹ Molière, *Le Misanthrope* I. 1.

² *The Dunciad Variorum*, pref. p. 6.

³ Dante, *Inferno* 25.

Seasons, Die Horen. Yet the enmity it evoked was so cruel and widespread that the poets resolved to answer their enemies with sharper shafts. Goethe, whose work was never distinguished for structural compactness, proposed that the answer should be in the form of disconnected two-line epigrams. Schiller agreed, and the two in concert produced the *Xenien*.¹ Schiller himself, in a letter to Körner,² says that 'the unity of such a work can consist only in a certain limitlessness, in a copiousness which transcends all measure'. This is the characteristic German trick of explaining the inexplicable by the incomprehensible. As a matter of fact, the *Xenien* have not even the unity which is perceptible in a book of Martial's epigrams—Martial varies his tone and form much more, and arranges the poems in large variegated patterns which induce the reader to read further. Except in the collections of cracker-mottoes, the real *Xenia*, three poems in the same metre rarely follow one another, and ten never do. The Roman would have shrunk from the idea of making a book out of about four hundred epigrams, almost all in the same tone, all in the same metre,³ and all of the same length. The *Xenien* close harmlessly enough in pseudo-classical meditations by Schiller; but for hundreds of lines before that the couplets have been clattering out, efficient, deadly, and graceless as machine-gun bullets. Nevertheless, the inartistic purpose of wounding the authors' enemies was admirably served by the *Xenien*—much better, in fact, than by the *Dunciad*. A real acknowledged disunity is better than a spurious unity. The scheme of the *Dunciad* was an unsuccessful attempt to impose unity on a subject which did not admit it. It was a street brawl disguised as a baroque war. The *Xenien* are, admittedly, guerrilla attacks on a disorganized enemy.

To return to Dulness, the hypostasized deity of all the barbarian hordes who criticized Mr Pope. Even if she had been a credible and interesting figure—by the way, why is her totem the same as Athena's wise bird, the owl?—Pope gave her nothing memorable to do. She has, it appears, no opposition whatever. The 'restoration of the empire of Troy'—which Scriblerus suggests as the model for the establishment of Dulness's empire—was a bitter contest between Juno and Aeneas with his

¹ The usual Greek or Latin epigram, satiric or not, was four to eight lines long. Martial's are often longer, and only a few of his nastiest poems are (like the anonymous lampoons reproduced in Suetonius) single couplets. The last two books of his collected poems are couplets to be attached to such presents as *A tube of tooth-paste* (14. 56), *A girdle* (14. 151), *A pocket edition of Vergil* (14. 186). These label-tags he called 'presents to guests', *xenia*. Hence the name chosen by Goethe and Schiller; cf. *Xenien* 364, 'Martial'.

² 18 January 1796.

³ That is, it is intended to resemble the classical elegiac couplet; it is in fact intolerably slack and crude—'barbarous hexameter, barbarous pentameter', as Tennyson said of another Teutonic attempt.

mother Venus, each side assisted by dozens of other deities and heroes, major and minor. But Pope has not even given Dulness a circle of attendants comparable to Ariel's assistants in *The Rape of the Lock*—if we except such dull dogs as Chicane, and Casuistry, and the harlot form of Opera. He has given her no enemy to overcome; no despairing legions fight their last fight against the invasion of barbarism.

For that reason the poem is, as Croker observes, a series of episodes. The power of Dulness invades not only the polite world but the poem itself; for Pope shrinks from the only topic which might lead him to describe real action, real *change*. Lines 619–26 of book 4 are an invocation to the muse to recount the steps by which Dulness took possession of the realm of St James and Whitehall. But the steps are not recounted. The invocation is followed by a line of asterisks, and the words

In vain, in vain—the all-composing hour
Resistless falls: the Muse obeys the power.
She comes! she comes!¹

Now, more skilfully handled, less melodramatically, with something of *MacFlecknoe's* frank guffawing humour, this might have been a fine comic climax. To invoke the muse, and then find that she has fallen asleep, is a brilliant conceit. It is of course not original, but adapted from Boileau's *Le Lutrin*, the second book of which closes with a sleepy speech by La Mollesse:

‘Ah! Nuit, si tant de fois, dans les bras de l’amour,
Je t’admis aux plaisirs que je cachois au jour,
Du moins ne permets pas...’ La Mollesse oppressée
Dans sa bouche à ce mot sent sa langue glacée,
Et, lasse de parler, succombant sous l’effort,
Soudain, étend les bras, ferme l’œil, et s’endort.

However, Pope was quite unable to treat this large comic effect as heartily as it deserved: he felt it would be crude to explain it fully, to dwell on the joke; and so he glossed it over with the dangerously weak and pompous phrase, ‘the Muse obeys the power’. The grand series of episodes tails off into a line of asterisks and a peroration.²

Pope was, as his enemies remarked, a great copyist. He copied Vergil in the *Pastorals* and the *Messiah*, Horace in the *Essays*, Ovid in *Eloisa to Abelard*, to say nothing of his direct translations and adaptations like *Sappho and Phaon*, the *Epistles*, and the *Satires*. He was in fact the ideal Augustan poet: a well-read man with a firm grasp of the heroic couplet. Therefore both his large satires are parodies: *The Rape of the Lock* is a toy

¹ I.e. Dulness comes, not the Muse.

² Another sign of uncertainty: it is not the empire of Dulness which is restored after all, but that of her father Chaos (I. 12, 4. 653).

Iliad, and the *Dunciad* is a mock *Aeneid*. But the fault of the *Dunciad* is simply that it is not parodic enough. Vast swathes of it are not amusingly incongruous description, but simple allegory. Dulness distributing her commands to her court in 4, Cibber's vision of the Dark Ages in 2, and many other large effects are not satire at all, but frank symbolism: and as such, they must fail. Nothing in *The Rape of the Lock* is allegorical—the death of the King of Clubs and the apotheosis of Belinda's curl are simply poetic fantasies, described with exquisite mock-heroic pomp. If the loss of the curl and the warnings of Ariel had conveyed some hidden moral to mankind, the delicate structure of the poem would have crumbled to the ground beneath its weight. There is a parallel case in medieval literature. Late in the twelfth century Jean de Hauteville wrote a Latin satire more than twice as long as the *Dunciad*, called *Architrenius*, *The Super-sorrower*. He had a remarkable command of the language, and his parodies show that he knew quite as much classical literature as Pope. But his rich and powerful verses, like the muscular couplets of the *Dunciad*, hang dismally on one of the bony allegorical frameworks beloved of the Middle Ages. The hero Architrenius visits the Palace of Venus, the Abode of Gluttony, the Mountain of Ambition, and so forth; until finally Mother Nature marries him to the beauteous Moderation. As a whole, the poem is almost impossibly tedious: for it is, like the *Dunciad*, an exasperating blend of excellent satiric verse with a solemn inappropriate mechanical plot. Both de Hauteville and Pope might well have taken a lesson from classical satire, which is never allegorical.¹ Without his passion for allegorical instruction, without his too obvious moral-aesthetic intention, Pope could well have narrated, say, the life of Cibber, in the same mock-heroic vein which he strikes so happily for twenty or thirty lines in book 1:

Swearing and supperless the hero sate,
Blasphemed his gods, the dice, and damned his fate.

John Philips had published a fine fragment of just such a comic epic, in *The Splendid Shilling*, nearly a generation before; and if Pope had written a literary *Don Quixote*, or rather a *Sanchiad*, a typical but not allegorical mock-epic life of a bad poet, it would have been as amusing and unexpected as *The Rape of the Lock*, and would have crushed Pope's enemies

¹ Its rare personifications, like Malaria in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, or Greed and Extravagance in Persius 5, are accounted for by adherence to tradition. Malaria, for example, was a real goddess, who had shrines in most Italian cities; while Greed and Extravagance are relics of the Stoic and Cynic sermon, with its personification of conflicting vices and virtues.

far more violently and finally than the anticlimax which results from the fundamental misconception of the *Dunciad*.

III

There is one more major fault in the *Dunciad*, which has often been felt, but seldom remarked. It is the fault to which all satirists are naturally prone, which Persius and his imitator Donne never overcame, over which Juvenal and Byron triumphantly soared, and which Pope himself in *The Rape of the Lock* surmounted with ease. It is that the tempo of the poem is awkward. Comparatively long passages of smoothly consecutive rhythm are succeeded by abrupt jolting couplets, in which a new subject or a new point of view is suggested every four or six lines. One page can be read continuously—it carries you on through a rich full stream of rhetoric or narrative, strong but graceful, powerful but equable. The next is full of choppy little waves, in which you can neither advance nor rest.

The reason for this is not primarily the breadth of the field over which Pope's satire is ranging. In his first satire, Juvenal surveys the whole of Rome, and furiously asks if the vast sinful city, as it stands, is not an ample justification for writing satire. 'Shall I not', he asks,¹

'shall I not gladly fill a bulging notebook
at each street-corner?'

Nevertheless, he mentions by name or pseudonym only sixteen contemporaries in 171 lines: rather less than one every ten lines. Besides these, he has fourteen names of mythical, and eight of historical personages. Seven (nearly half) of the contemporary names in his poem occur in ten crowded lines: two gigolos are mentioned in one line, and four informers in a line and a half, to produce a sudden shocking effect of multiplicity. But that trick is not repeated elsewhere in the poem. Yet suppose that Pope had been writing the satire, and that he had (as was almost inevitable) used the technique of the *Dunciad*. He would have seized the opportunity to turn a savage and annihilating drumfire on *all* his enemies. In every three lines, another little fortification would have crumbled. The air would have been filled with the crash of masonry, the screams of the wounded, the gasps of the dying. Pope (like Asian monarchs) would have chalked up the names of his opponents, and crossed them off, one by one, as his artillery disposed of them. For the Asian monarch, it would have been exquisitely satisfactory. For the reader, it would be as painful and as tedious as other civil wars.

¹ 1. 63.

Now, Juvenal's field could scarcely have been broader than the whole corrupt metropolis. In satire 10 he professes to survey mankind from China to Peru, *a Gadibus usque Auroram et Gangen*, and he actually covers twelve hundred years of history, from Priam to Hadrian. Yet, even there, he mentions far fewer ancients or contemporaries than Pope, in a passage of comparable length in the *Dunciad*. But Juvenal's technique, and the technique of all classical satirists, is to combine bold generalizations with vivid details, and occasionally, lightly, illustratively, to throw in a topical gibe, a contemporary name.

Modern readers, with no contemporary knowledge and with inadequate help from the scholia, find these topical jokes hardest to understand, and so, very often, most memorable. They tend to believe that the brief slaps at Codrus and Cluvienus¹ were the centre of Juvenal's attention when he was writing his first satire. These references are indeed very cryptic: fascinatingly dark. Many of them were intended to elicit a brief shout of laughter when the satire was recited, and their subsequent history interested the author no more. Like Aristophanic comedy, Latin satire was a blend of the topical and the eternal. Therefore the topical could not be eliminated from even the most general satire; and so we shall never know who was the Jew Apella,² or the huge Vulfennius, hater of philosophy,³ or Procula, who was too big for Codrus' bed,⁴ or the murderous financier Basilus.⁵ But these passing taunts, interesting as they appear, are only arrows shot at a venture. They neither help nor hinder the main interest. Why does Horace suddenly drag in the Jew Apella, or Persius the huge Vulfennius? Simply in order to personify an abstract point of view. Classical satirists always strive to be vivid. They will not say 'I went to school', but 'I twitched my hand away from the rod'.⁶ Similarly, they will not say 'This is silly superstition', but 'Let the Jew Apella believe this'. I conceive that they may have borrowed this device from the Attic comedians, to whom they owed so much.⁷ In an Athenian theatre it would be enormously effective. When the comic slave, trying to excuse some inexcusable absence, said 'I was off on an expedition against Sparta, with Cleisthenes', he would look knowingly at the audience, and the audience would roar with laughter—because Cleisthenes, whose cowardice and debauchery they all knew, was sitting

¹ 1. 2, 1. 80.

³ Persius 5. 190.

⁵ Juvenal 10. 222. There are many who regret with equal fervour that the scholiast to Mr Sherlock Holmes tells us nothing about the Paradol Chamber, or Wilson, the notorious canary-trainer, or the singular affair of the aluminium crutch. (See *The Five Orange Pips*, *Black Peter*, *The Musgrave Ritual*.)

⁶ Juvenal 1. 15.

² Horace, *serm.* 1. 5. 100.

⁴ Juvenal 3. 203.

⁷ Horace, *serm.* 1. 4. 1 f.

among them at that moment. Perhaps it was under the influence of the Cynic and Stoic sermon, which also liked illustrative references to notorious contemporaries, that Latin satire took over the trick. Horace's references, though sometimes disguised, were recognizable contemporaries, like Canidia-Gratidia.¹ But those used by Persius and Juvenal were historical waxworks, or nonentities, or mere fictions. Apart from Juvenal's one reference to him—or is it two?—and Martial's colourless use of the same name,² there is absolutely no proof that Codrus, to whom Pope attaches such importance, ever existed at all. However, the scholastic attitude of the eighteenth century towards classical literature lent such references an enormously exaggerated importance: until at last Pope overweighted and spoiled his own satiric poetry with an intolerable load of them, all real, all pointed, and all negligible.

This strikes the reader first in the chaotic fashion of their presentation. Horace's names (pseudonyms or not) are all recognizable Latin or Greco-Latin names. Dryden's are all Biblical and Boileau's all French or pseudo-Greek names. But the *Dunciad* is a bewildering mixture of real appellations (Withers, Ward, and Gildon³), English pseudonyms (Bayes, Paridel⁴), classical nicknames (Theocles, Silenus, Palinurus⁵), cryptic initials ('Great C**, H**, P**, R**, K**'⁶), and even asterisks ('Then * essayed'⁷).

Besides that confusion, the sheer number of Pope's proper names is greater than those of any other satirist. Take a specimen count.⁸ In Juvenal 3, which surveys all Rome and contains 321 lines, there are forty-eight proper names, of which twenty-three denote his contemporaries. In Horace 2. 3, which has a theme of comparable breadth and contains 326 lines, there are fifty-four names, thirty being contemporaries. In the first book of the *Dunciad*, with 330 lines, there are thirty-six names of contemporaries and eighty-nine names altogether.

This multitudinous variety could never be moulded into a unity, unless in a scheme far larger than any satirist like Pope could possibly envisage. The catalogues in *Iliad* 2 and *Aeneid* 7 are long processions of pomp and heraldry, but they fit into the immense epic pattern. Contrast Pope's own mock-epyllion, *The Rape of the Lock*, where within the first 320 lines he names only ten mythical and seven real personages: hence the ex-

¹ Horace, *serm.* 1. 8.

² 3. 15, 84. Martial himself (1 *pref.*, 2. 23, etc.) says he uses fictitious names.

³ 1. 296.

⁴ 1. 108, 4. 340.

⁵ 4. 488, 492, 612.

⁶ 4. 545.

⁷ 2. 295.

⁸ Repetitions of one name within a few lines, as at *Dunciad* 1. 320–4, are omitted; separate occurrences of the same name at some distance, as that of Molière in *Dunciad* 1. 132 and 1. 254, are separately counted.

quisite Mozartian economy of the poem—a heroic operetta in one act, played by marionettes and accompanied by a muted string quartet. Nevertheless, Pope might have been more successful in marshalling his interminable procession if he had made it march in one direction and kept it together. But we have already seen that Dulness and her only-begotten Cibber do not engage in one continuous course of action: still less do their satellites. And unity was impossible without repetitions, which would have been intolerable, or action, of which Pope seems to have been incapable. The four books of the poem are all overburdened with mere catalogues of ‘the race that write’. Like the four voyages of Gulliver—though their scope is more limited—they are four different ways of looking at human foolishness and foulness. 1. 291–310, 2 entire, 3. 139–332, and 4. 101–564 are virtually nothing but versified reviews, where Mr Pope’s enemies appear now as contending athletes, now as courtiers, and now as prodigies of the impending future. Hence the bewilderment which overcomes the reader as he finds a constant stream of new personages passing rapidly before his eyes, never to reappear. Curll enters momentarily as a publisher in 1 and 3, at length as an athlete in 2, and nowhere else. Handel (of all people) is suddenly brought in and pushed out in 4. Henley the preacher appears for an instant in 3, preaching in implied competition with three other fanatics and three bishops (all carefully named), and then vanishes. Apart from book 2, where the competition-scheme gives a certain appropriateness to these quick entrances and exits, the only really effective appearance is that of Bentley in 4. 203. As Walker reverently takes his hat off for him, he nods bluntly to queen Dulness, makes an admirably characteristic speech, and is suddenly offended by the sight of a too-much-travelled youth, fresh from the Grand Tour:

‘Walker! our hat—’ nor more he deigned to say,
But, stern as Ajax’ spectre, strode away.

He at least remains in our mind. He has occupied it for 71 lines, 4% of the entire poem, and more than one-tenth of the fourth book. But by those numerous cursory epigrammatic mentions of others, Pope (though tactically successful) made a grave strategic error. He hurt his victims at the time. His passing blows wounded them deeply, but not to death. They remain, mutilated and suffering. By their very existence they accuse him of cruel short-sighted malice. If they were worthy objects of satire, they deserved ampler and heavier attacks. If they were not, they should have been left to oblivion, blindly scattering her poppy.

Addison, said Pope in his famous character-sketch,¹ was willing 'to wound and yet afraid to strike. Mr Pope himself was seldom afraid to strike, and he was more than willing to wound. But either by his many injuries, or by his friend Swift's rancorous precepts, he was fatally misled. His blows were actually too well directed. Satire is, as we have said, a blend of the particular and topical with the general, the eternal. Pope in the *Dunciad* concentrates so carefully on the particular that he never sees the general, or sees it falsely.

After all, what is the lesson which the poem is intended to convey? It is the obvious falsehood that London, England, civilization generally were in 1720 being invaded by the irresistible forces of barbarism: that the arts were expiring, truth and philosophy disappearing, science, wit, and the muses being enchained for ever. Not only was this false in fact—at that time; but Pope himself did not believe it. He thought, like most of the Augustans, that his own age was the culmination of a long process of refinement beginning with the Renaissance, when the Goths vanished. The *Essay on Criticism* culminates with a sort of anti-Dunciad.² The progress of wit is traced from Aristotle through Longinus to Erasmus and the Renaissance, and thence to France, where 'Boileau still in right of Horace sways'. True, Pope declares that his own countrymen despised the laws of taste, 'and kept unconquered and uncivilized'; but he adds that even in Britain there were some who understood taste, and 'restored wit's fundamental laws'. Similarly, in his imitation of the first epistle in Horace's second book, he devotes a long passage³ to the growing delicacy of taste induced by French influence:

Britain to soft refinement less a foe,
Wit grew polite, and numbers learned to flow....

All his work, except the *Dunciad*, is infused with a spacious baroque optimism which is directly opposed to the thesis that sin and barbarism are spreading wider and wider through the whole world. Much of it does indeed contain fierce criticism of individual barbarities or barbarians. But only in the *Dunciad* are these separate criticisms transcended by a general indictment of the human race.

There are two possible reasons for this exaggeration. One is that Pope himself was so acutely sensitive to aesthetic vulgarity that his exacerbated nerves perverted his clear mind.⁴ The other is that Swift's universal hatred of mankind here infected Pope's kinder nature, and convinced him of the justice of an indictment which at all other times he knew to be, like

¹ *Prologue to the Satires* 203.

² 3. 643 f.

³ 263 f.

⁴ This is the view expressed by Miss Sitwell in her biography of Pope.

Gulliver's *Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms*, a savage hyperbole. Remembering Pope's penchant for the catalogue-poem in general, we may well conclude that both these reasons are simultaneously true. Which was the stronger? Our answer to that question must depend on our view of the characters of Swift and Pope. Johnson says of Swift that 'he seems to have wasted life in discontent, by the rage of neglected pride and the languishment of unsatisfied desire'; and his last years were spent in impenetrable darkness, grief and silence. Pope died after four days' delirium, in the intervals of which 'he was always saying something kind either of his present or absent friends', so that 'his humanity seemed to have survived his understanding'. When Bolingbroke was told this he said 'I never in my life knew a man that had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or a more general friendship for mankind'.

GILBERT HIGHET.

STAGING 'LE JEU DE LA FEUILLÉE'

LE JEU DE LA FEUILLÉE, written probably about 1276 or 1277 by an accomplished poet and musician, Adam le Bossu or de la Halle,¹ of Arras, has been called the earliest example of revue in French. As an entertainment it is full of possibilities in the form of a dramatic monologue, an exhibition of 'onychomancy', the noisy passing of Hellekin's rout, horse-play by an idiot boy, singing by Hellekin's messenger, three fairies and a group of tavern companions, the startling appearance of Fortune and her wheel, the whole interlarded with humorous criticism of local characters and of the misguided policy of a Pope recently deceased.

The spirit of the *Jeu* is one of banter, ragging, leg-pulling, occasionally broadening into slapstick and horse-play. 'Satirical' is too weighty a word to describe it. There is no bitterness in the candid criticisms which are given and taken in good part by the characters, who evidently know each other well enough to realize that no offence is meant.

The author appears in person, as do his father Rikier Auri, Hane, Gillot, the Landlord, Rainelet, Walet and Walaincourt. Dame Douche was probably a well-known figure in and about Arras. These real people joke amongst themselves and often act as 'feeds' to the other characters, inventions of the author: the Doctor, the Monk, the Idiot and his father, Croquesot, the fairies Morgane, Magloire, Arsile and their handmaid Fortune. From beginning to end the *Jeu* deals with the troubles and shortcomings of people well known to the author and his audience; it is, in that sense, completely realistic and makes no demands on the imagination of the spectators.

Bearing in mind (i) that research has shown that many of the characters in the *Jeu* were the author's contemporaries in Arras, and (ii) that the *point de départ* of the *Jeu*, the author's decision to leave his wife and return to Paris to finish his education, must have been a real event in the author's life (he refers to it in some of his poems²), let us now examine the text with a view to discovering what its setting may have been.

Several writers have put forward suggestions as to how the *Jeu de la Feuillée* was staged. According to Henri Guy³ it was probably played indoors on a stage decorated and strewn with greenery, but Lucien

¹ See Ernest Langlois, *Adam le Bossu... Le Jeu de la Feuillée* (Classiques français du Moyen Age, 6, 2nd ed.), Paris, Champion, 1923, pp. x-xv.

² See Langlois, *op. cit.*, pp. iv-vi.

³ *Essai sur... Adam de la Halle*, Paris, 1898, p. 347.

Dûbech¹ thinks it was presented in an open-air theatre where the setting represented a forest clearing with a table and some stools in one corner and 'effets de clair de lune et apparitions féeriques au son de doux instruments'. Allardyce Nicoll² vaguely mentions 'an imaginative picture of a dream world', whilst Gustave Cohen³ is sure that Adam de la Halle had in mind a multiple setting including a bower of greenery under which the fairies' feast was served, and the tavern of Raoul le Waisdier; he even goes so far as to suggest the use of a backcloth for the apparition of Fortune and her wheel, and the use of 'flying-machines' for the arrival of Croquesot and the fairies. The editor of the Picard text, Ernest Langlois, thought that the *Jeu* could have been staged indoors, under a bower of greenery, or completely out-of-doors, and talked of a *scène principale* (the subject of which he does not mention) and a tavern set separated by a street scene.⁴ This last remark, taken in conjunction with Langlois's note on line 1058 of the text—'the tablecloth, the pitcher and the other objects which the companions carry off seem to be the ones which had already been used on the fairies' table'—seems to indicate a certain vagueness as to how the *Jeu* was originally staged.

If we agree to forget, for the time being, the word *feuillée* and to set aside any tendency to expect gawky naiveté to be the hall-mark of medieval drama and read the play from the point of view of the modern producer whose aim is to discover and realize the life of a dramatic text, we may reach a conclusion which is probably closer to the author's intention than any of the suggestions quoted above.

The *Jeu* opens like a meeting. The author gets up and begins to make a speech in which he gives his reasons for leaving Arras. He is heckled by his friends, but, undaunted, he launches into a long lyrical monologue about his wife's fast-fading beauty. His father then speaks in favour of his son's decision. In his turn, he, too, is heckled. At this point (l. 200) the first of the 'imaginary' characters, the Doctor, makes his appearance. In those first two hundred lines of his text the author has established the 'scene of action', not in an imaginary place, not in 'a room in So-and-So's house' or 'a public square in Arras', the details of which were left to that lively imagination of his audience, but in real life, in the very place where 'actors' and 'audience' are gathered together. Actors and spectators rub shoulders, talk to each other. Many of the characters are not even

¹ *Histoire générale du Théâtre*, Paris, 1931, II, 129-38.

² *Masks, Mimes and Miracles*, London, 1931, p. 173.

³ *Le Théâtre en France au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1931, II, 32-3.

⁴ Langlois, op. cit., p. xvi and *Poèmes et récits de la vieille France*, I, Paris, de Boccard, 1923, p. xvi.

acting, they are simply being themselves. Actors become audience, audience actors, according to the demands of the *Jeu*. That complete understanding between author, actors and public is seen here as it has never been since spectators were no longer allowed to sit on the stage. The reality of place, established in the opening lines of the play, is never destroyed, even by the much-discussed tavern scene.

Roughly speaking, the *Jeu* may be said to consist of a series of 'sketches' linked together by a certain amount of back-chat. The 'sketches' or 'turns' were probably enacted in a space surrounded on at least three sides by spectators, the back-chat indulged in by characters amongst the spectators or even in what we can call the 'acting area'. For example, when the *Jeu* opens, Adam would occupy the acting area and be heckled by characters in the audience; the scenes with the Doctor and the Monk would be played in the acting area.

Although it may occasionally be difficult to decide which lines of back-chat were spoken from the audience, which from the acting area, there is never any reason to doubt at which points of the *Jeu* the author wished the acting area to be cleared completely. The first general clearance takes place just before the arrival of the fairies. After the discussion of bigamous clerks, Hane and Gillot must have retired to their places (l. 513), the Idiot and his father next withdraw 'to get a snatch of sleep' (l. 556), Rikier and Adam (who had withdrawn, l. 433) return (l. 557) and prepare to set the table for the fairies, whilst the Monk is told to take his relic and put it 'en sauf' (l. 560). The Monk asks for, and obtains permission to remain in order to see the fairies, and takes his place in the audience (l. 573). Dame Douche withdraws (l. 599). Rainelet, Adam and Rikier also sit with the spectators (l. 613), and the acting area is free for the arrival of the fairies.

There is no indication that the space thus vacated is now supposed to represent another place; the scene of action is still the same as at the beginning of the *Jeu*.

When Dame Douche makes her next entrance (l. 848), she is supposed to come from some other part of the town, to which she asks the fairies to accompany her. All four ladies go out and leave the acting area free a second time (l. 875). The table laid by Adam and Rikier remains.

The Monk now awakens, but refuses to go on his way before he has had some food. Hane, from his place in the audience, suggests they shall go to Raoul le Waisdier's tavern, where they will find Adam, Rikier, Gillot and a merry company assembled. When the Monk accepts, Hane leads him towards the table near which Rikier is sitting (l. 903). As the Monk,

a stranger, is treated as a gullible character, always half asleep, there is no reason for surprise when he does not know how near he is to the tavern when he awakes after the departure of the fairies. So the acting area now represents the tavern of Raoul le Waisdier, and, as we have seen that it has not changed its identity since the opening of the *Jeu*, it does not seem too dangerous to suggest that the setting of the *Jeu* is as real as many of the characters—the tavern itself.

The reality of the place in which actors and audience are met is firmly fixed by the author's skilful insistence on the reality of the world outside. Dame Douche, for example, is more than just a figure of fun; her role is to ensure that the arrival of the fairies does not destroy that reality in the minds of the spectators. When asked by Hellekin's messenger if she has seen the fairies, she replies by another question (l. 599): 'Doivent eles par chi venir?' i.e. Are they to come *here*? What appears to be an idle question is really a sign of concern and amazement. Dame Douche is surprised to learn that the fairies are going to appear on the spot where the *Jeu* is being played. Her surprise is explained later when Morgane says (ll. 843-4)

Alons vers le Pré erraument,
Je sai' bien c'on nous i atent,

and Magloire adds

Les vielles femes de le vile
Nous i attendent.

Just then Dame Douche returns to the scene of action to find out why the fairies had been delayed and says that she and her daughter have been waiting for them all night at Crois ou Pré. Obviously she had not believed Croquesot and had gone (l. 599) to wait for the fairies where she knew they were really supposed to appear!

The exits of all the principal characters towards the end of the *Jeu* are equally significant for the contact they maintain between the audience and real life. The only character who has both come from and returned to an imaginary place is the messenger of Hellekin. Dame Douche and the fairies start out for Crois ou Pré, a real place (l. 875); Hane and Gillot go to burn a candle at the shrine of Notre Dame, equally real (l. 1080); the Idiot and his father start for their home at Duisans, a village not far from Arras (l. 1093), and the Monk, the last to remain, starts on his travels again when he hears the bell of St Nicolas, a local church (l. 1099). And so the assembly is left almost as it was when the *Jeu* started. In the last rough-and-tumble scene with the Idiot even the table has been cleared away (l. 1057).

One or two other details in the text seem to indicate that the author wrote with a very definite scene of action in his mind. The Idiot's remark (ll. 1087-9)

Par le mort Dieu, on me compisse
Par la desseure, che me sanle!
Peu faut ke je ne vous estranle!

and the much-discussed passage (ll. 916-19)

Or me prestes donques un voirre,
Par amour, et si seons bas.
Et che sera chi li rebas
Seur coi nous meterons le pot,

suggest a place where some spectators could really sit above (*par desseure*) the acting area—at a window, perhaps, or even a balcony—and where some obvious architectural detail could be used as a ledge (*rebas*) on which to set the pitcher of wine.

The following conversation (ll. 903-7)

HANE. Rikeche, veistes vous l'oste?
RIKERS. Oie, il est chaiens. (*Shouts*) Raulet!
LI OSTES (*from within*). Vées me chi!
HANE. Ki s'entremet
Dou vin sakier? Il n'i a plus.
LI OSTES (*entering*). Sire, bien soiés vous venus!

may be taken as a suggestion that the *Jeu* was played just *outside* the inn. It is true that this interpretation fits in with the realism so well established in the early part of the play; it also makes the passage of Hane and the Monk from the audience to the acting area an essential part of that realism.

In trying to estimate the significance of the word *feuillée* (meaning 'bower of green leaves') used in the title of the *Jeu*, one must bear in mind that the title *le jeus de le fuellie* is found in only one of the three extant MSS., and that it may be a scribe's, and not the author's, invention. It is because too much importance has been attributed to that one word that the testimony of the text itself has not been thoroughly investigated from the point of view of the theatrical producer. Gaston Paris¹ was of the opinion that the *Jeu* was performed 'under one of those bowers of greenery which used to be erected for the celebration of May Day or the return of Spring', whilst Henry Guy² thought that the word *feuillée* referred to 'a season of the year when it was the custom to set up such bowers out of doors to celebrate the rite of Spring'. Langlois points out that in May, or at Whitsuntide, a *feuillée* used to be set up in Arras and the sacred shrine of Notre Dame exposed beneath it for public

¹ *La littérature française au moyen âge*, § 132.

² *Essai...*, p. 347.

homage. He thinks that is the *feuillée* mentioned in the title of the *Jeu*, especially because at the end of the piece some of the characters go off to burn a candle at the shrine of Notre Dame.

To the custom mentioned by Langlois we may add that referred to by the fairies and Dame Douche (whose pregnancy, incidentally, tends to remind us of the rite of Spring), which probably coincided with the exposition of the sacred shrine under the *feuillée*—the meeting of the old women of Arras at Crois ou Pré in the hope of seeing the fairies.

With both these customs in his mind Adam de la Halle composed that midsummer night's dream called *Le Jeu de la feuillée*, that 'rag' in which three fairies appear and distribute mixed blessings amongst the assembled company. The irony of such a work must certainly have been increased if the performance took place on the very night when the old wives of Arras were really waiting for the fairies at Crois ou Pré, when the sacred shrine really was exposed under its bower of leaves in some public place in the town.

It is impossible to assert that the *Jeu* was played under a bower of green leaves. *Tonnelles* and *bosquets* are common enough in gardens of French inns at the present day and there is even a thirteenth-century drama, Jean Bodel's *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, in which a landlord invites a customer to take a seat in the 'achinte' outside his inn. Bodel's editor, M. Alfred Jeanroy, translates the word 'achinte' by 'tonnelle de feuillage'. If such a bower existed outside the tavern where the *Jeu* was played, it is possible that it may have been used, perhaps to mark the acting area. But there is nothing in the text to prove this.

The structure of the *Jeu* testifies to the author's fine sense of showmanship¹; he cannot have failed to arrange for his show to be presented at a time which would bring out its finest flavour. One can imagine the laughter during the scene between Dame Douche and the fairies, Adam and his friends having managed to intercept Morgane and her companions and keep all the old wives waiting so long. It would not be difficult to make Adam a complete sceptic, convinced that the old women would wait in vain, that if they wished to see fairies they would have to

¹ Attention is drawn to the careful distribution of the various 'turns' referred to above, to the effective entrances of new characters, e.g. the element of surprise in the first speeches of the Doctor (l. 200) and the Monk (l. 322), both spoken from the back of the audience, and the suspense deliberately created in preparation for the fairies' entrance (the dramatic value of Rainelet's outburst, ll. 584-9, must not be overlooked). The appearance of Fortune in person is far more effective than any of the devices suggested by M. Cohen. Magloire, who hopes to discredit as many people as possible, is responsible for the appearance of Fortune. Furious because she has been neglected, Magloire sweeps out through the audience (l. 703) and then makes a startling reappearance, accompanied by Fortune, at the end of Morgane's scene with Croquesot (l. 765).

manufacture them themselves, as he had done. It is clear that, so far as Adam was concerned, the fairies represent what now-a-days we call wish-fulfilment.

It would, of course, be difficult to say whether Adam pushed realism so far as to have his *Jeu* played at the very witching hour when the fairies were supposed to appear, but his text is full of reminders of the lateness of the hour. Characters go out 'for a nap', the Monk goes to sleep in the audience, then in the tavern, the Idiot's father is told that he has kept his unruly son out of bed too long; at the end of the play the Monk refers (l. 990) to his first meeting with the Idiot as having taken place 'last night', i.e. before midnight; for the same reason Croquesot says (l. 617) he left his master Hellekin 'only yesterday' and Rikier and Gillot, as they clear up the acting area at the end, are aware of having 'made a night of it' (l. 1062).

Far from being 'an imaginative picture of a dream world', the *Jeu de la Feuillée* is steeped in reality from beginning to end, a perfect example of community drama as it ought to be—the spontaneous creation of a group of people for their own amusement.

THOMAS WALTON.

BIRMINGHAM.

A CORONATION SERVICE 1414

THE student of the fifteenth century in Spain cannot but be startled by the brevity of the notice of the coronation of Don Fernando, Regent of Castile, as King of Aragon, in the *Crónica de Don Juan II.*¹ Coronations are times of rejoicing, when feast and tourney vie with ceremonial pageantry for splendour; yet although the same chronicle records at length banquets and jousts held in honour of the Princesses or the greater nobility whose weddings took place at court, and gives much space to the feasting in honour of Pope Benedict XIII at Morella, the gorgeous spectacle of a coronation is passed over in relative silence. Brief as it is, however, it does tell us one or two interesting facts. For instance we learn the names of the most important nobles from Castile, Aragon, Sicily and Navarre who were present at the ceremony; again we are surprised to learn that the King was knighted in the Cathedral immediately prior to being crowned, and we suspect that there was some kind of link between the two rituals. Lastly, we find that the Bishop of Tarragona was the prelate who actually anointed and crowned the King.

Such a brief account of a ceremony, fascinating at once on account of its antiquity and because it must have been an occasion of much grandeur and picturesque formalities, is, to say the least of it, disappointing. We find ourselves disposed to ask a great many questions, for our appetite for more precise details of the affair is whetted by so meagre a record. Fortunately for the student curious about such matters a full account of the proceedings does exist, in the original version of the chronicle by Álvaro García de Santa María, preserved in manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, number MS. Esp. 104.² Corroborative evidence of this eyewitness account is to be found in Gerónimo de Blancas's *Coronaciones de los serenissimos reyes de Aragón*, which gives a translation of the ritual for coronation prescribed by Don Pedro el Ceremonioso, called the *Ordinacio feyta por el muy alto e muy excelent Princip & Senyor, el Senyor Don Pedro IV de Aragón, de la manera como los Reyes de Aragón se faran consagrar, e ellos mismos se coronaran.*

The original text has been published by Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró in tomo v of *Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona*

¹ *Crónica de Don Juan II*, edited by Galíndez de Carvajal (Biblioteca de autores Castellanos, 68).

² For a more detailed account of this MS. see 'Early Spanish Drama', Coronation Celebration in 1414, contributed to the *Bulletin Hispanique* (believed published, June 1940).

de Aragón, Barcelona, 1850. Careful perusal of these documents will provide answers to most of the questions that clamour for explanation. Why was the King knighted then, and what was the connexion between the ceremony of admission to the order of knighthood and that of coronation? How was it that the crowning of the King was not performed by the Primate of Aragón, the Archbishop of Zaragoza? Who was the Duque de Gandía, and why did he and the King's third son, the Maestre de Santiago, play important parts at the ceremony, to the exclusion of the heir to the throne and the King's second son? An examination of the texts enables us to reply to these questions, but also reveals the remarkable fact that the Galíndez version of the chronicle is at fault in several instances. Further consideration brings us to the conclusion that the alterations were deliberate, although there appears to be no ostensible reason for their having ever been made. Finally we are forced to infer that the authors of the falsifications had no grasp whatever of the meaning of the ritual, or of the ideas underlying the complicated ceremonial.

Before turning to consider the original texts it will be well to quote the passage from the revised version of the chronicle recording the ceremonial in the Cathedral:

El sabado ante de la coronacion, que fueron a diez días del mes de Hebrero del año de la Encarnacion de mil e quatrocientos e catorce años, despues de comer, el Rey salió de su palacio, que llaman la Aljaferia, cavalgando encima de un caballo blanco muy ricamente vestido, e con él sus hijos, e todos los Grandes que dicho habemos, el qual se fué a la Iglesia mayor donde lo salieron a rescebir todos los Perlados e Clérigos que onde estaban, los Arzobispos y Obispos vestidos de Pontifical, e los otros en la forma que suelen rescebir a los Reyes. Y el Rey entró en la Iglesia, e adoró la Cruz, e besóla, e hizo oracion al altar mayor, y esta noche veló sus armas, las quales bendixo el Obispo de Huesca. E otro día domingo en quebrandó el alva, el Rey se levantó, e oyó Misa, e ceñida su espada, mandó al Duque de Gandía que lo armase caballero, el qual sacó la espada del Rey con gran reverencia, e púsogelo sobre la cabeza, e lo armó caballero: e calzaronle las espuelas el Maestre de Santiago, su hijo, y el Duque de Gandía. E luego el Rey puso las rodillas sobre un estrado de brocado, e juntas las manos al cielo, dixo así: 'Señor mio, verdadero Dios trino e uno, demándote por merced, que en esta Orden de Caballería que hoy rescibo, haga tales obras, que seas de mí servido, e mi anima haya por ello gloria perdurable.'

E dende a dos horas el Rey fué ungido de olio bendito, e consagrado, e coronado por la mano del Arzobispo de Tarragona; y hecha la coronacion con grandes alegrías, e muchos menestres de diversos instrumentos, las fiestas duraron diez días.¹

Don Pedro had planned the service to consist of two parts, closely allied in feeling: the knighting and the coronation. As a Knight the King was pledged to act as Defender of the Faith, the confessed enemy of heretics and heathen, the upholder of justice and the protector of the fatherless and widows. The office of King was twofold in nature, deriving its spiritual power through the grace of anointing, its temporal power

¹ *Crónica de Don Juan II*, ed. Galíndez (Año 8, caps. iv and v).

through the laws and customs of the land. The coronation service, then, must draw attention to these two sources of power if the King is to derive from it a proper sense of his duties to God and to his people. Briefly these duties were as follows: as a spiritual power he was chosen of God to act as a pillar of the Church, with the Church to be co-ruler of the faithful; as a temporal power he swore to maintain his realms in Christian justice, according to the laws of his forefathers. Knighthood and kingship had much in common. By each the individual was pledged to uphold the Faith, to make war on the Church's enemies, to promote order and justice upon earth.

The reason for the inclusion of the ceremony of admission to knighthood with the coronation ritual is now clear. The promises made as Knight reinforce those made as King, and vice versa; a King who was not a Knight was an anomaly in those far-off days, when crusades were not yet out of fashion, and the poor were in truth at the mercy of the whims of a brutal society. The admission to the order of knighthood just before coronation increased the solemnity of the occasion, and underlined the pledge of just and equitable rule in the coronation service. If a King were already knighted, then he re-dedicated his arms to the service of God and his people. The amalgamation of the two ceremonies was one of Don Pedro's happiest thoughts.

His *Ordinació* opens with some sage words concerning man's fatal facility for falling into extremes. The external distinction of coronation, he says, may so puff up a man with pride and vanity that he can see nothing more than the personal glory of bearing the insignia of office and the royal robes. On the other hand he may be so much aware of his own unworthiness that he may disregard entirely the necessary formalities proper to such an occasion. Don Pedro's aim is to steer between these two extremes of folly, and, by prescribing the details of the service, and of the robes to be worn at it, to ensure that the outward signs of rejoicing, and the pageantry necessary for ritual, should not overstep the bounds of moderation, while yet preserving a fitting recognition of the pomp suitable to such a ceremony.¹

Since, as has been pointed out, the King's office has a twofold nature, the service must carry out the idea that in the King are vested both spiritual and temporal power. The former is signified by the rite of anointing, by which the man is constituted King; types of coronation may be found in the Old Testament, where we read that Kings were anointed by the High Priest in the presence of the people. In the

¹ *Documentos Inéditos*, v, 267.

Christian era some Kings have had the privilege of being anointed by the Holy Father, and in Aragón this part of the ceremony has always been performed by the Metropolitan—the Archbishop of Zaragoza—by special privilege conceded to the Aragonese Kings by Pope Innocent III. In Old Testament days Kings received the oil upon their heads; but since the coming of Christ they have been anointed upon breast and shoulders, for does not the Prophet say ‘And the government shall be upon his shoulder’?¹

The anointing then is the special province of the Church, a sacrament through which Grace is obtained to enable the King to carry out his solemn vows. But since the crown is the symbol of earthly power, vested in the King’s person through his lineage, and by virtue of the laws of the land,² it is not fitting that the Church should place the crown upon his head. The office of King, as distinct from the person of the King, is never-ending, as is also the endless will of that office to rule and serve the people well.³ This is the meaning of the crown, and for that reason, since it does not derive from a spiritual source, it is right for the King to place the crown upon his own brow, since the kingly office will persist as long as there are Kings to reign.

The double purport of Don Pedro’s coronation ceremony is implicit throughout the ritual, though never stated in so many words.

We are now in a position to examine the ritual recorded in Álvaro García’s original chronicle, and to decide how closely Don Fernando adhered to the instructions given by Don Pedro. It will be convenient first to explain the broad outlines of the service.

Don Pedro’s ceremonial consists of several elements skilfully combined into a service of great dignity and beauty. One of the most important is the incorporation of the admission to the order of knighthood with the coronation. The first part of the ritual consists of the knighting, which leads straight on to the second part, the anointing. A short break occurs when Mass is begun, giving the King time to rest until the Epistle is read. Between the reading of the Epistle and that of the Gospel comes the assumption by the King of the royal insignia, and the singing of the *Te Deum*. Finally the crowned King is solemnly presented to the people. In connexion with the last point it should be noticed that there are two separate occasions before the anointing when the people are given the opportunity to see and recognize their King. The questions put to the people, therefore, when the Metropolitan asks them if they desire him to

¹ *Documentos Inéditos*, v, 269, 270.

² *Ibid.*, p. 270.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

be crowned is no mere empty formula: such opportunities rendered it virtually impossible for an illegal claimant to get himself crowned.

Closely connected with the purport of the ritual are the appropriate robes worn by the King. Don Pedro spends a good deal of time on the point. It is clear that he—or the traditions which his *Ordinació* embody—considered the matter of the greatest importance. It is fascinating, on reading Álar García's account of Don Fernando's appearance, to see how meticulously he adhered to Don Pedro's instructions.

For the procession from the Aljafería to the Cathedral for the vigil over the arms, the King was to wear one set of clothes, secular in character, whose details were symbolical of certain virtues or characteristics necessary in a Knight, but especially so in one who was also a King:

e vestes la camisa e bragues noves e braguer blanch ab civella dargent e ab trabugueres de seda blanca a significança que daqui avant viva en castedat e sobre aço vestes gonella vermella de scarlata be estant al cors e no sia massa longa per tal que no cobra les partides be estants ne tant curta que a desonestat sia reputat e sobre aquesta gonella vestes una vestadura que es apellada garnatxa la qual sia feta de vellut vermell e de drap dor a senyal nostre reyal e sobre aquesta port e abrichse un mantell lo qual sia fet de drap dor e de vellut vermell fet a senyal nostre demunt dit folrat de pells de armmis: e apres daço calçe calces vermelles de scarlata e no port sabates: e totes aquestes vestadures li vesten e li calçen cavallers fets.¹

Álar García's lively description, then, of the King's robes worn when he left the palace, mounted on his white charger, is more than the narrative of an unusually observant eyewitness: it is the record of carefully thought out pageantry whose symbolism would have been easily grasped by the onlookers:

El rrey queriendo salir a los caualleros e nobles que le estauan esperando desnudose las ropas que tenia a vestiose camisa e paños de lino nuevo con braguero de syrgo con feniletas de plata blancas e sus truxeras de syrgo blanco a synificança que dende en adelante que use de castidad de la qual virtud el dicho señor rrey es fama que siempre vso como deboto cauallero de santa maria e vestio vn jubon de azeytuni muy rrico de oro clemesin e ençima del jubon vna saya descariata colorada apartada al cuerpo sin mangas e vestio vn pellote del tienpo antiguo con manga de canadilla fasta el codo que hera fecha vna banda de oro texido en telar e otra de azeytuni clemesin fechas come armas de aragon e sobre esto vna capa conplida del dicho mismo paño con vna punta a cabo derecho que se echauan (sic) al cuello ezquierdo en el suelo enforrados todos estos en armiños e sus calças descariata...²

The King's figure clad in the royal arms of Aragón must have made a brave show in the streets of Zaragoza; here, the people must have felt, as they watched him ride by on his famous white charger, is the very embodiment of the notion of King, where law and order and the very being of the state are vested in a single person. The insistence on chastity—marital chastity of course—is not merely a necessary part of the vows taken by a Knight. In a King chastity is of special importance, and if

¹ *Documentos Inéditos*, v, 272. ² MS. Esp. 104, folios 191 verso and 193 recto.

practised has the beneficial result that one cause of civil wars is eliminated. If there had been no bastard of Trastamara there might have been no prolonged civil war in Castile during the reign of Peter the Cruel.

For the knighting and the coronation Don Pedro directed that the King should wear ecclesiastical robes. According to Álvarez García's description those worn by Don Fernando were what a deacon should wear. Since the details of these vestments are all drawn from the *Ordinació* we may infer that in Don Pedro's view the office of King had, with regard to the Church, the same kind of relationship as that between Deacon and Priest: the King was the Priesthood's helper. Turning to Álvarez García we shall now see how gorgeous these vestments were:

Estando los dichos perlados cerca del altar salieron de la dicha capilla los que trayan las vestiduras con que se avia de coronar el dicho señor rrey estos que aqui diran de dos en dos vno en pozo de otro en esta manera.

Primeramente mosen aymar e pero lopez de ayala que lleuaua unas calças de satin clemesin broslados con oro e syrgo e abiertas por detras con vnas cintas de syrgo e con fenuletas de oro e luego mosen rremon de varas e pero carrillo de toledo que trayan vnos zapatos de paño de rricomas blanco broslados con oro e con dos feuillas e dos cabos de oro a cada çapato e luego aluaro de avilla e mosen vernal çentellas mariscales del rrey que trayan el abito de paño de lino blanco e luego diego vrtado de mendoça mayordomo mayor del rrey que trayan el alua que era de lienço muy delgado con rredeopiez vna banda de oro e otra de azeytuni clemesyn e las bocas de las mangas con vnas crenas de oro anchas e ençima broslados con aljofar e luego diego lopes de astuñiga justia mayor de castilla e juan de velasco camarero mayor del rrey de castilla que traya el cordon de syrgo blanco broslado con oro e con dos mançanas de aljofar e luego venian con don rruy lopes de davalos (sic) condestable de castilla que trayan la causula que hera de azeytuni clemesi enforrada en terçebel broslado con oro e con aljofar jarros de santa maria e luego yvan gerardo dofe conde de torres hijo del rrey de navarra e don fadrigue conde de luna fijo del rrey de Seçilla que lleuauan la tunçela que hera de paño de damasquin blanco enforrado de terçebel colorado e el collar broslado de armas rreales de aragon e en las mangas avia una brosladura fecha sobre foja de oro tan ancho como medio palmo e cada tena broslada con aljofar e con tres zafies grandes con sus rredeopiez de oro e de azeytuni clemesin e luego venia el duque de gandia e don enrique de villena que traya el almatia (sic) la qual hera vna banda de oro e otra de azeytuni clemesin e en cada banda brosladas jarras de santa maria con oro e syrgo e con mangas anchas segun que acostunbra de llevar el diacono quando dize el euangelio e hera senbrada de piedras preciosas con aljofar en los onbros e luego venia el maestre de alcantara e el ynfante don pero su hermano que lleuauan el manipulo que hera labrada ençima sobre foja de oro broslada con aljofar e con nueve zafies e valaxes grandes e asi fueron llevadas ante el altar . . .¹

Yet splendid as these vestments must have been they only carried out the instructions laid down by Don Pedro:

e aqui (i.e. the Sacristy) despullse les dites vestadures axi que romangue en la dita gonella de scarlata la qual haja lo cabeç fes devant et detras ab botons e aquestas vestadures sien de la esgleya e sobra aquesta gonella vestes primerament una camisa de lenç nova e sia ampla e longa e manera de camisa romana ab lo cabeç fes devant e detras ab botons e sobra aquesta camisa vestas una tunicella blancha de drap de seda feta a manera de camis e haja los punyals obrats ab perles e sobre aquesta cmyes un cordo de seda blancha en lo qual no port coltell ne neguna manera darmes e sobre tot aço port la estola per aquesta manera que pertesca del musclo esquerra la una part

¹ MS. Esp. 104, folio 194 recto and verso.

devant e l'altra detras e ajunyense a la part dreta axi con la acostumen de portar los diaches con son vestits per dir lavengeli e en lo braç esquerra port un maniple la qual stola e maniple sien cuberts de fil dor e de perles e de pedres precioses e sienli calçades les cendalies de drap de seda vermelles obrades de fil dor e sobra aquellas sienli calçades çabates de vellut blanch obrades ab fil dor e apres tot aço s'ialí vestida una dalmatica de vellut vermell e de drap dor de nostre senyal reyal decorada ab managues amples aytal con ha acostumada de portar lo diacha con diu lo sant evangeli a la missa obrada de diverses obratges dor e sembrada de perles e de pedres precioses.¹

If this was Don Pedro's idea of moderate splendour, what would he have called unpardonable ostentation?

But, faithful as Don Fernando was in the details of the robes, he made significant alterations in the order of service. In the first place, he did not change out of his secular robes into his ecclesiastical vestments until after he had been knighted, marking the transition of one ceremony into another. Such an alteration connotes a shifting of the emphasis in the symbolism implied rather than a radical change in the substance of the ceremony. Further, there is a longer pause between the anointing and the actual putting on of the crown than was originally intended by Don Pedro. With Don Fernando Mass, which was originally intended to commence immediately after the knighting, was not begun till after the King had received the oil, and instead of waiting to read the Gospel till the King was crowned and holding orb and sceptre, the royal insignia were fetched from the sacristy by the three eldest Infantes just before the Gospel was read. The effect of these changes was to emphasize the fact that the service consisted of two ceremonies, although they were closely connected in feeling, and to point the difference between the temporal and spiritual sides of kingship. The importance of these changes is easier to grasp by a comparison between the services as first conceived by Don Pedro, and as carried out by Don Fernando. I therefore append a plan which will readily show the order of service followed in the *Ordinació* and in Álvaro García's Chronicle:

Ordinació

1. Rise at dawn; Mass heard privately.
2. King shows himself to the people.
3. At daylight the Metropolitan and other bishops robe, then call the King from the sacristy where he changes from secular to ecclesiastical robes.
4. Procession to altar, the insignia of office being borne by Infantes or other nobles.

Crónica

1. Same.
2. Same.
3. The acting Metropolitan² 'vestido de pontifical,' and the other bishops, robed, summon Don Fernando to the altar.
4. Prelates form a circle round the altar.

¹ *Documentos Inéditos*, v, 274-5.

² The Archbishop of Zaragoza had been murdered two years previous to the coronation and the see was still vacant. The Bishop of Huesca, the oldest bishop remaining, acted as Metropolitan at the Ceremony. See Zurita's *Anales*, lib. xii, cap. 1.

Ordinació

5. Prelates form circle round altar, on which insignia are placed. Infantes leave circle; King prostrated, in centre. While bishops recite a litany King says prayer: 'Senyor Deu a tu ha plagut' etc.
6. Responses.
7. Two prayers.
8. King's spurs affixed, if he is not already knighted, by two Infantes or two great nobles.
9. General blessing over King's arms, followed by those on the shield, the lance and the spear. (See opposite column, no. 5.)
10. Metropolitan's prayer over King, if he is not yet a knight. (See opposite column, no. 8.)
11. King girds on sword, while Metropolitan recites a prayer.
12. King recites prayer.
13. King knights himself: E feta aquesta oracio lo rey ab la ma sua dreta donse un colp en la templa esquerra.
14. King brandishes his sword: E aço fet lo rey traga l'espada del four e devant tot lo poble de cara esbrandesca tres vegades.
15. King conducted to sacristy, while Mass for the day is begun.
16. King led back to altar where a lesser throne is prepared, *after Epistle and responses* have been said.
17. King stands by lesser throne surrounded by circle of Princes, Nobility and Clerics, and makes his profession.

Crónica

5. Metropolitan recites the four prayers over the King's arms, which he blesses.
6. Metropolitan recites a prayer over the King.
7. King girds on his sword.
8. Another prayer.
9. Prayer by the King: Senor mio dios demandote merced que en aquesta horden de cavalleria. la qual aora tomo yo faga tales obras que tu ende seas servido e la mi alma aya por ello gloria perdurable e el mi cuerpo honrra e prouecho a mi corona real e el mi pueblo acrecentamiento e defendimiento.
10. The King knights himself: E fecha esta oracion el dicho señor el rrey con la su mano derecha dio se una palmada en la mexilla izquierda.... (Compare no. 11; cf. opposite column, no. 13.)
11. King brandishes his sword: e saco la espada de la vayna e delante de todo el pueblo blandiola tres vezes e despues desçerniola el mesmo e pusola antel altar....
12. King's spurs affixed by Duque de Gandía and Infante Don Enrique, the King's third son.
13. King moves back to throne to show himself to the people.
14. Bishops remain at altar to receive procession bearing King's ecclesiastical clothes.
15. King's robes blessed.
16. Bishops return to sacristy with bearers of King's robes.
17. King is robed in the sacristy.

Ordinació

18. Bishops conduct King to the Metropolitan, saying: Reverent pare demana sancta Mare Esgleya que aquest alt e illustre cavaller al qual per successio legitima lo regne se pertany per dignitat reyal consagrets.
19. Questions asked by Metropolitan and answered by circle of lords temporal and spiritual: Sabets vosaltres a ell pertanyer lo regne per legitima successio. All present answer: E nos conexem e creem a aquell pertanyer lo regne per legitima successio. E sia respost per tots los circumstants: Deo gratias. E aço acabat lo metropolita diga sobre lo rey les oracions següents.
20. Four prayers recited over King.
21. Latin questions put to the King and his answers: Vis fidem sanctam a catholicis viris tibi traditam tenere & opera justa observare? Vis sanctarum ecclesiarumque ministrorum tutor et defensor esse?
Respondeat el Rey, Volo. Interroget: Vis regnum tuum a Deo tibi concessum secundum iustitiam Patrum tuorum regere & defendere.
Respondeat, Volo, & in quanto divino fultus adiutorio ac solatio omnium meorum valuerò, ita me per omnia fideliter acturum promitto.
22. Latin questions put to the realm, and the reply: Preguntas que se fazen al Regno Vis tali principi, ac rectori te subicere, ut ex fidelitate per te alias praestita, tamquam successore legitimo in hoc Regno Aragonum teneris, & ipsius regnum firmare, firma fide stabilire, atque iussionibus illius obtemperare iuxta Apostolum dicentem: Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit, Regi quasi precelenti.
E aquestas paraules dites tota la clercia e lo poble qui aquí sera responguen e diguen: *Fiat Fiat Amen.*

Crónica

18. King conducted in procession to the altar.
19. King presented to the acting Metropolitan. 'E los dichos perladados... dixieron las palabras que aqui dira. rreverendo padre demanda santa madre iglesia que aqui este rresplandeçiente cauallero el qual por sucesyon legitima el rreyno le pertenesçio por dñidad rreal que lo consagremos.'
20. Questions to lords temporal and spiritual: e luego el dicho obispo de huesca rrespondio e dixo: ansi sauedes vosotros a el pertenesçer el rreyno por legitima sucesyon e todos rrespondieron e dixieron nos conoscemos e creemos a el pertensçer la legitima sucesion del rreyno, e todos los otros respondieron e dixieron deo graçias.
21. Four prayers.
22. The acting Metropolitan asks the King some questions in Latin. He replies in Latin.

Ordinació

23. A Prayer.

24. The Prephatio.

25. The anointing: E dites les benediccions e prephaci demunt dits lo matropolita prenga del oli sanctificat e faent creu uncten lo cap dels pits del rey e apres les sumitats de cascuna de les spatles dient les paraules següents: Ungo te in regem hujus populi in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. E feta la unccio segons que dit es lo matropolita ab un bell drap de lin torch e munde los lochs unctats e apres diga les següents.

26. Six prayers.

27. Prayer over the crown; King takes up the crown; second prayer over crown: E aquesta oracio dita lo rey prenga la corona de sobre laltar e ell matex posles en lo cap senç ajuda dalcuna persona. E dementre lo rey se posará la corona sobre lo cap lo matropolita diga aquesta oracio. (Here follows the second prayer of the crown.)

28. King takes up sceptre; prayer over sceptre.

29. King takes up orb; prayer over orb.

30. Two prayers.

31. The King is conducted to the major throne, and responses are said: 'Desiderium animae eius' etc.

Crónica

23. Question put to the realm, and the reply: e boluiose (i.e. the Metropolitan) al pueblo e dixo otras palabras en latín e todos dixieron fiad, fiad.

24. The King's Profession: Nos te confesamos e prometemos delante de dios e de sus angeles daqui adelante ley e justicia e paz de la santa iglesia de dios e el pueblo a nos sojuzgado por nuestro poder e sobre fee etc. The text here becomes nonsense through the chronicler's attempt at translation or the scribe's mistakes

25. Prayer by Metropolitan.

26. The Preface.

27. Litanies recited over prostrate King.

28. The anointing: E tomo el olio sanctificado e faziendo cruz—untole con el el cabo de lo pechos e despues cada vno de los onbros diziendole una oracion en latín e tomo vnas toñajas e alinpio los lugares donde puso el olio.

29. Five prayers.

30. Mass is begun; the three eldest Infantes fetch the royal insignia which they place on the altar.

31. While Gospel recited the Metropolitan recites prayer over King.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 32. Prayer over the King. | 32. King goes to altar and takes up the crown: 'e acauada la oraçion el señor rey se fue al altar e tomo con sus manos de sobre el altar la corona mayor que el mando faser e puso en la su cabeça.' |
| 33. <i>Te Deum</i> . | 33. King takes sceptre; Metropolitan recites another prayer. |
| 34. Responses. | 34. King takes orb: third prayer. |
| 35. Three prayers. | 35. King conducted to major throne. Response 'Desideriuz (sic) animi ei'. |
| 36. The Gospel. | 36. Prayer over King as he approaches the throne. |
| 37. The offertory: King offers twelve gold florins in memory of the twelve apostles. | 37. King seated on the throne: <i>Te Deum</i> . |
| 38. Oratio secreta. (Suscipe Domine preces et hostias Ecclesie tue pro salute famuli tui regis nostri etc.) | 38. Six prayers recited by Metropolitan. |
| 39. Post Communion prayer. | 39. Creation of Principe de Gerona and of Duque de Peñafiel. |
| 40. The kiss of peace. | 40. Knighting of sons of Don Ruy López Dávalos, Constable of Castile. |
| 41. Metropolitan recites two prayers over King as he sits on the throne. | 41. Mass continued: the offertory of twelve pieces of gold. |
| 42. The Blessing. | 42. Two prayers from the Mass. |
| 43. Solemn procession back to the palace of the Aljafería. | 43. Metropolitan says three prayers over the King. |
| | 44. The Blessing. |
| | 45. Solemn procession back to the Aljafería. |

The above analyses of the coronation service as planned by Don Pedro, and as executed by Don Fernando, are convincing evidence of the unreliability of the Galíndez text of the *Crónica de Don Juan II*. The essential details of both ceremonies (Knighting and Coronation) are misrepresented. The form of knighting described in the Galíndez text is entirely contrary to Aragonese tradition. It is in direct contradiction to the text of the eyewitness account, which should never have been tampered with, and shows a complete disregard for Aragonese customs, embodied in the *Ordinació*. The only part of the account which is palpably true is the record of the fact that the King's spurs were fixed on by the Duque de Gandía and by his third son, Don Enrique, Maestre of Santiago. But we are led to suppose that none of the rest of the King's sons took any part in either of the ceremonies. The truth is that the two eldest were also being knighted, and so were not free to take any part in the first ceremony.¹

¹ MS. Esp. 104, folio 192 recto.

A further measure of the inaccuracy of the Galíndez text is the omission of any description of the actual manner in which the coronation was performed. Galíndez leads us to believe that the Archbishop of Tarragona consecrated the King, and placed the crown upon his head—a procedure absolutely foreign to the Aragonese sense of propriety. And why substitute the Archbishop of Tarragona for the Bishop of Huesca? Since the latter was acting Metropolitan, and since his name is repeated over and over again in the Álvaro García text as the prelate who performed all the Metropolitan's office, there is no doubt whatever that the Archbishop of Tarragona's name here is an error.

One final point. The Galíndez text is guilty of a further, unsuspected omission. It makes no mention of the coronation of Doña Leonor, although Don Pedro's *Ordinació* gives the full text of the coronation service for Queens, while Zurita's *Anales* has a brief mention of the second ceremony. Álvaro García, on the other hand, gives a full description of her coronation, with several details which add a spice of comedy to the solemn occasion.

There is no ostensible reason to account for such omissions and alterations. It is easy to understand the changes made in the revised text of the years 1420–34 with the purpose of minimizing the favourable impression of Alvaro de Luna gained upon studying Álvaro García's original. But it is impossible to conjecture what would have been at the backs of Guzmán's or Galíndez's minds when they recast the *Crónica*. Did they wish to convey an impression of greater solemnity, or of a more dignified ceremonial than the Aragonese Kings' method of knightng themselves? Was it particularly unpalatable to Castile, or to a young prince brought up in Flanders? Did Castilians baulk at finding that a Castilian prince was forced to conform in small details with Aragonese custom? Probably we shall never know. But one fact is clear: we can no longer consider the Galíndez text reliable.

Before bidding farewell to Don Pedro's *Ordinació* it will be of interest to compare it with Álvaro García's record of Doña Leonor's coronation, since the former proves a useful check on the trustworthiness of the latter.

The title of the second *Ordinació*¹ puts the essentials of the ceremonial in a nutshell: *Ordinació feta per lo dit senyor rey de la manera con les reynes darago se faran conregar è los reys darago les coronaran.*

It is evident at once, from the above title, that the same distinction is drawn in the Queen's coronation between the spiritual and temporal

¹ *Documentos Inéditos*, v, 305.

nature of kingship. The Church alone can consecrate the Queen by anointing her: but her right to the dignity of Queen is derived, through her husband, from the civil laws of the land. Seeking a type whereby he may illustrate his idea, Don Pedro singles out Esther, crowned by Ahasuerus. We are also instructed on the nature of the Queen's position with regard to the King: she is his companion and equal. Don Pedro founds his belief on the story of the creation of Adam and Eve: for whereas Eve was fashioned not from a part of an upper or a lower member of Adam, but from a rib, situated in the middle of the body, so woman must not be considered above man, dominating him, or below him, enslaved by him, but his equal and his companion. This very argument is to be found again in Don Alvaro de Luna's *Claras e virtuosas mujeres*, and must have been a favourite one in the Middle Ages in Spain. Since the Queen is the King's companion she should therefore rejoice and share in the honours and prerogatives which distinguish Kings.

Like the King, the Queen was supposed to fast if possible three days during the week preceding her coronation, but at any rate for one day. On the day before the eve of coronation she was to take the ceremonial bath, and on the eve of coronation to confess and communicate. In the afternoon, clad in special robes, and mounted on a white horse, she was to leave the Aljafería for the Cathedral, accompanied by a solemn procession of Knights and ladies:

en lo qual dia de la vigilia a hora de completa la reyna partira del alberch del rey e ira vestida ab les vestedures blanches e ornaments de cap acostumatx saul que no port garlanda ne corona en lo cap e cavalcara en cavall blanc sens que null hom no la men per les regnes del cavall.

Álvar García's text describes an imposing procession, but the Queen followed out the instructions concerning her person, as is clear from the following:

E así como a ora de viesperas este martes treze dias andados del mes de fevrero salio la noble e muy deuota en santa maria la rreyna doña leonor mujer del dicho señor rrey queriendo yr esta tarde a la yglesia de san saluador para otro dia siguiente rreçeur la corona del dicho señor rrey segun que adelante oyredes e salio de su camara vestida de vnos paños blancos de azeytuni villotado brodados con oro e sacaron la del braço. El príncipe e el duque sus fijos e vino al palacio que dizen de los mármoles e delante della çient hachas de çera blanca ardiendo de las quales venian las doze mas çerca della que trayan doze moços pequeños vestidos de paño blanco con sus peñas blancas por aforraduras e lleuaronla a asentar a la silla que estaua el sabado de antes quando saho para yr a la yglesia el primero dia para yr rreçeur la corona. . . la rreyna salio del palacio e cavalgo en un cauallo blanco muy bien guarnido con sus sueras del mesmo paño e su sylla e freno muy rrico e en derredor della a pie los grandes señores ynfantes e rricos omes e caualleros e lleuaronle delante los çirios con el castillo e fizieron le todas las cerimonias e solenidades que fizieron al señor rrey tan conplidamente e con ella yvan dueñas e donzellas así de los grandes de su casa como otros que avian venido de navarra e muchas de las de la ciudad de çaragoça.¹

¹ MS. Esp. 104, folios 202 verso and 203 recto.

Arrived at the Cathedral the Queen was met by the Bishops, who led her to the altar, where she recited a prayer, after which she came to sit on the throne where Don Fernando had sat in the body of the Church, in order to show herself to the people. Collation was then served, and when finished Doña Leonor retired to the house of the Archbishop of Zaragoza there to spend the night.

On the following morning she rose early, and went to the chapel of Don Lope de Luna (or of los ángeles) where she received the vestments she was to wear for her coronation; these were brought to her in solemn procession:

doña leonor dyxar lleuaua el alua e doña teresa su hermana la çinta e blanca manuel donzella de la rreyna de navarra una casula blanca de vn rrico damasco con oro broslada e con aljofar muy rricamente obrado e doña leonor condesa de querre lleuaua el almatica (sic) blanca broslada con aljofar e piedras preçiosas e doña leonor de villena lleuaua el manipulo e asy fueron todas ante el dicho altar e los perlados dixieron sobre ellas oraçiones e bendixieron las e las dichas donzellas tornaron las por esa mesma horden e entraron delante della con ellas do estaua en la dicha sacristania e alli la despojaron sus donzellas las vestiduras que lleuaua e vestieron le las dichas vestiduras como clerigo e destocaron la en cabellos los quales heran rrubios como filos de oro e asi la sacaron de la sacristania de la capilla e asentaron la en su asentamento que le estaua aparejado e alli atendio.¹

It will be seen that Don Pedro's instructions were carefully followed out, just as they had been where the King's vestments were concerned:

la reyna entrarsen ha en la sagrestia e despullar sa aquellos vestedures ab les quals hi sera entrada e vestes primerament una camisa romana de lenç fesa en lo cabeç devant e detras ab botons en quascuna fanadura ab los quals se cloguen les fanadures del cabeç de la dita camisa romana: e sobre la dita camisa vestes lo camis de drap de seda blanch e sobre lo dit camis cinyes un cordo de seda blancha: e vestides aquestes vestedures vestes la dalmatica feta a forma de dalmatica de sotsdiacha con diu la epistola a la missa la qual sia de vallut blanch fresada e sembrada de obratges dor ab perles e pedres preçiosos: e apres pintenla la pus honrada donçella quiy sia.²

The Queen, of course, was not to wear any headgear, because her head had to be bared to receive the crown.

Before leaving the Queen's robes to make a comparison of the texts of the *Ordinació* and of the *Crónica* attention must be drawn to the Queen's position in the realm symbolized by her vestments. The King's coronation robes were those of a Deacon's—the Priest's helper; the Queen's were those of a sub-deacon, the helper of the Deacon and so of the Clergy.

I will now pass on to a detailed analysis of the two texts, which will show clearly how closely Don Pedro's service was followed on this occasion:

Ordinació

1. Early on day of coronation Queen must go to Cathedral where she will be met by procession of bishops.

Crónica

1. Queen goes to sacristy.

¹ MS. Esp. 104, folio 203, recto and verso.

² *Documentos Inéditos*, v, 307, 308.

Ordinació

2. Two bishops lead Queen to a throne by the high altar.
3. Prayer.
4. Queen changes robes.
5. Procession to the altar, the royal insignia being carried by the three most important ladies, the chief of whom carries the crown, the next important the sceptre, the third the orb.
6. The Queen is brought before the altar, one bishop places the crown on the altar, another the sceptre, and a third the orb.
7. The Queen, attended by two ladies, kneels prostrated in front of the altar; the two ladies move away from the altar.
8. Litany (as in King's consecration).
9. Responses.
10. Three prayers.
11. Prephatio.
12. The anointing. Two prayers are said during the anointing. 'E aço (i.e. the Preface) fet lo matropolita proceesca a la sacra unccio segons ques seguex a la qual unccio sia apparallat loli sanctificat ab lo qual lo matropolita li uncte lo cap dels pits e la sumitat de cascuna de les spatles e apres torchli los lochs unctats ab un bell drap de li. E dementre lo matropolita fara la dita unccio diga les oracions següents.'
13. The King now crowns the Queen. 'E aço fet lo rey que aqui sia present vestit ab les sues insignies reyalas prenga la corona del altar e posla en lo cap de la reyna e dementre la li posara en lo cap lo matropolita diga les oracions següents.'

Crónica

2. Queen's robes taken in solemn procession to the altar to be blessed.
3. Robes brought back to sacristy.
4. Queen changes robes.
5. King wearing his crown, and dressed in his coronation robes, awaits Queen seated on his throne and sends his two eldest sons for the Queen, whom they lead by the arm to the altar, where the archbishops and bishops are already waiting for her.
6. Insignia placed on the altar.
7. The Queen prostrated in front of the altar, her ladies at some distance from her.
8. Blessings said over the insignia as they had been said over the King's insignia. The *Crónica* account here is so brief that it is impossible to analyse as I have analysed the other parts: 'e señora reyna se hecho en vn estrado sobre almudadas en el altar e alli le començaron a decir los obispos e arzobispos las oraciones segun que dixieron al señor rrey'. This short phrase implies that the Queen received the oil during this part of the service.

13. The Queen, preceded by the royal insignia, is conducted back to the sacristy.

Ordinació

14. One prayer.
15. 'E espelgades les dites oracions lo rey liure a la reyna lo ceptre en la man dreta e dementre lo li lurara lo matropolita diga la oracio seguent.'
16. Prayer of the sceptre.
17. 'E apres lo rey prenga lo pom dor de laltar e donlo en las mans de la reyna e tengalo en la man esquerra e dementre aços fara lo matropolita diga la oracio seguent.'
18. Prayer of the orb.
19. 'E apres lo rey liure lanell a la reyna en lo quart dit de la man dreta qui es appellat medicus e lo matropolita diga la oracio seguent.'
20. Prayer of the ring.
21. *Te Deum*.
22. Prayer.
23. Mass begins.
24. The offertory: the Queen is to offer seven gold florins to signify the seven cardinal virtues.
25. Queen conducted back to her throne.
26. Mass finished.
27. Solemn procession back to the palace.

Crónica

14. Bishops return to the altar, and continue the Mass: 'e los obispos tornaron a deçir su Missa'. The King remains on his throne.
15. Queen conducted back to the altar, after about an hour.
16. The King crowns the Queen, and places the sceptre and orb in her hands. Again the brief narrative makes it impossible to analyse as exactly as before, but the assumption is strong that the prayers of the insignia were said, as they were for the King: 'la rreyna finco los ynojos ante el (i.e. the King) e puso le la corona en la cabeça la que la rreyna de navarra enbio al rrey que hera muy fermosa e rrica de piedras preçiosas con aljofar muy grueso e pusole el çeptro en la mano derecha e la mançana en la ezquierda e saco el rrey vna sortija de su mano e puso la en el dedo de la rreyna'.
21. The King and Queen kiss each other —with an unrehearsed comic effect recorded by the chronicler: 'e quiso le dar paz (i.e. a la rreyna) en la boca e queriendo le dar paz queria caer la corona de la cabeça al rrey e eso mesmo a la rreyna e ouieron de tener cada vno su corona'.
22. The Queen led to her throne near the altar. The King gives the kiss of peace to his sons and to Don Enrique de Villena and his sister.
23. Mass finished, and while it goes on
24. King knights some gentlemen to do the Queen honour.
25. Solemn procession back to the palace.

In the coronation of Doña Leonor, as in his own, Don Fernando brought out the essential difference between the two sides of kingship: the spiritual, derived by grace, from God; the temporal, derived from the laws of the land. The long pause between the anointing and the placing of the crown on the Queen's head, besides giving her time to rest, emphasized this distinction, which in any case is easier to grasp in the Queen's coronation, since it is the King—embodiment of temporal power—who actually invests her with crown, sceptre, and orb. Even if the two services had been held simultaneously, an event provided for by Don Pedro, this same distinction would have been made abundantly clear to the congregation, for the King was to be consecrated and to receive the insignia before the Queen:

Empero si per ventura sesdevenia quel rey e la reyna abdosos se consegrassen se coronassen en un dia la manera demunt dita en tot e per tot sia observada en cascun dells ensemps segons que demunt pus clarament es expressat: axi empero quel rey sia tota vegada primer en totes coses axi en cavalcar com en reebre benediccions e en la consagracio e en la coronacio e en reebre les altres insignies reyalas demunt dites.¹

It is clearly established, then, by the above analyses of the texts of the *Ordinació* and of Álgar García's *Crónica*, that the latter's account conforms in substance to the ritual laid down by Don Pedro el Ceremonioso. The alterations made in the order of service only serve to point the ideas underlying it, not to alter it, while the essentials of the ritual were rigidly adhered to. These were the knighting of the King before his coronation, and the special manner of knighting, by the King's smiting himself on the left cheek with the clenched fist of his right hand; the anointing by the Metropolitan, and the crowning of the King by himself. The offertory of twelve gold pieces, the symbolic vestments worn, all testify to the veracity of Álgar García, as do the other details he records of the Queen's coronation.

Unable as we are to form any conjecture as to the reasons for the alterations in the Guzmán-Galíndez text, ignorant, furthermore, as to which of the two historians was responsible for making these changes, all that we can conclude from the above study is that it is high time that the original text of the whole of the chronicle was made accessible to the public, because the Guzmán-Galíndez version is obviously unreliable. Even if these details are of small importance, for they are not matters which could notably affect the policy of a country, or indeed our judgment on such a policy, once we have seen how matters have been misrepresented, we can no longer accept the statements of writers who are so ready to falsify the facts, no matter for what end. Galíndez de

¹ *Documentos Inéditos*, v, 314.

Carvajal stated, in his preface to the version of the *Crónica de Don Juan II*, that he had done nothing more than summarize a verbose text, and re-write parts of it to make more elegant the crude expressions of a former age. Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, that model of impartial and veracious historians, states that he revised the whole of the Chronicle, which, after it had been taken from the hands of Álvaro García de Santa María, who had a high reputation for impartiality, was used to further the wicked ends of people in high places. Yet the most glaring difference between Álvaro García's text and the revised version, in the part (1420-34) which follows after the death of Don Fernando, is the systematic rearrangement of the facts, with the omission of a great number of favourable ones, for the apparent purpose of minimizing the good qualities of Don Alvaro de Luna, Guzmán's enemy.

In the face of such an unreliable text as the above account of a coronation, are we to believe these statements? Ought we not, rather, to resign ourselves to the disillusionment brought on us by advanced studies no less than by advancing years? Brought up as we have been with a high opinion of Guzmán's veracity, we may find it hard at first to accustom ourselves to the idea that he may not, after all, have been so impartial as we have been led to believe. While those readers who prefer a simple, forthright, and lively style to the somewhat colourless but more correct Spanish of Carvajal, may regret—and with reason—the passion the sixteenth-century scholars had for pruning the writings of their predecessors.

INEZ MACDONALD.

CAMBRIDGE.

ON THE ORIGINS OF THE LITURGICAL DRAMA OF THE MIDDLE AGES

THE PROBLEM

THE great majority of the Latin plays performed within the framework of the liturgical ritual of the medieval Church fall into two large groups: those centring in the theme of the Visitation of the Sepulchre, the Easter plays; and those concerned with the Nativity, the Christmas plays. These two main groups offer very considerable differences in their formal development, as Creizenach pointed out long ago;¹ and I would suggest that confusion has been caused through the repeated attempts to consider the groups as having gone through the same development. The main differences are as follows. The earliest known form of the dramatic Easter trope, the *Quem quaeritis*, is also the simplest; and, in practically all the later, more complex versions, this simple form remains as the heart and emotional focus of the plays. There is a Nativity trope, the Adoration of the Shepherds, which has the same form as the *Quem quaeritis*, and the similarity is so great that a direct borrowing is probable.² But this trope differs from the Easter trope in two ways. It is not demonstrably earlier than quite different forms of Christmas play—the earliest extant texts are of the eleventh century, not earlier than Herod plays which are quite independent of this trope.³ Even more significant, the Nativity trope rarely is the centre and focus of the later Nativity plays. External and internal evidence combine to suggest that the Nativity plays develop from some other form than the *Quem quaeritis in praesepe*. In the present article I wish, therefore, to direct attention more especially to the Visitation plays, leaving the problems of the Nativity plays for later investigation.

The common view of the origin of the liturgical drama is that these plays developed out of the Canonical Office, as embellishments. Thus they are considered as a 'spontaneous new birth and growth within the confines of Christian worship'.⁴ Creizenach, Chambers and Young, not to speak of other authors, all consider that the plays have a strictly liturgical

¹ W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Halle, 1893, I, 58, 62.

² *Ibid.*, I, 57; E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 1903, II, 10; Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1933, II, 4.

³ Young, *Drama*, II, 5, 50 (Nevers play), 53 (Compiègne play). Textual references below will apply to Young's excellent edition of texts, by far the best available.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 1.

origin. Most writers accept the view that the impulse which led to the composition of plays came from the desire to fortify and clarify the faith of the believers, by representing in a show what was otherwise abstract and remote. This is the view put by medieval authorities themselves, from the *Regularis Concordia* of the tenth century onwards.¹ But while it is persuasive to attribute the liturgical drama to religious-didactic intention, especially in so far as the posterior justification of the plays is concerned, it remains to be explained why the drama should have begun and developed as and when it did, and what is the significance of the clergy's joy in participation in the plays, to which so many documents bear witness. Chambers's reference to the natural 'mimetic instinct' of the people is hardly satisfactory.

Many historians have remarked on the intrusion of elements of pagan rites or folk-customs into the liturgical drama. Chambers notes that instances of 'reaction by the vernacular stage' are to be found in the part played by the quack, Herod, the boy-bishop, the ass, the black-faced devils, some of which he considers to be the 'detritus' of Roman festivals, while other writers consider them to be of Germanic origin.² It has been generally agreed that these pagan elements are only excrescences on the body of the Christian drama; it is evident that they become more numerous and elaborate in the later plays, especially from the thirteenth century, culminating perhaps in such ceremonies as that described by the reformer Thomas Kirchmayer (Naogeorgus) in his *Regnum Papisticum* of 1553,³ where nearly all semblance of Christian rite and meaning is absent.

Recently a new interpretation of the religious drama of the Middle Ages has been offered by Robert Stumpff,⁴ which would turn the traditional theory topsy-turvy. Bertha Phillpotts, in her attempt to trace the ritualistic basis of the elder Edda, stated: 'The religious (i.e. pagan) origin of the heathen drama will scarcely be questioned. But the heathen origin of the ecclesiastical drama practically follows from that premise.'⁵ It is the latter part of this assertion that Stumpff develops, marshalling

¹ Young, *Drama*, I, 133.

² Chambers, op. cit., II, 33, 56, 90-1; also I, 94. See also J. L. Weston, *From Ritual to Romance*, 1920, p. 100; M. J. Rudwin, *The Origin of the German Carnival Comedy*, New York, 1920, p. 52; A. Beatty, 'The St George or Mummers Plays' (*Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters*, xv, II), 1907, p. 322. Young's reluctance to see pagan survivals leads him into difficulties, cf. his bewilderment over the verses *Eia discamus* in the Nativity plays from Bilsen and Freising, *Drama*, II, 75 ff., 98.

³ The relevant passages, together with the contemporary translation by Barnaby Googe, are printed in Young, *Drama*, II, 525-37.

⁴ *Kultspiele der Germanen als Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Dramas*, Berlin, 1936.

⁵ *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama*, 1920, p. 209.

anthropological, archaeological and literary evidence to prove that Germanic rites and customs are the root of the liturgical drama.

Stumpff's anthropological views rest on those of Otto Höfler, as they are expounded in the latter's *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen*. Höfler agrees with scholars such as Oscar Almgren¹ that the essential feature of primitive religion is the ecstatic ritual observance, not the myth or belief; he himself stresses the importance for the life of the tribe of the ecstatic festivals of the dead which are often combined with initiatory rites. He notes, of course, the common occurrence of fertility rites in the customs he analyses: but the chief significance of the latter lies, in his opinion, in the renewal of tribal unity and energy through ecstatic identification with the dead and through the ritual drama of initiation.² Höfler shows how, in spite of Christianity, many of these cults persisted throughout the Middle Ages and still, in out-of-the-way places, have their votaries. He offers an interpretation of certain aspects of the Edda in the light of the cults.

Stumpff begins therefore from the premise that, in the Germanic peoples who accepted Christianity, there was a throbbing religious life which centred in the rites performed at certain high festivals. No new religion or system of belief could supplant these rites, which were intimately bound up with the social organization and needs of the Germanic peoples. Christianity had therefore to be introduced gradually, by the method which Gregory the Great commended to Saint Augustine, namely, the adaptation of pagan practices to Christian ends. This tactic of conversion meant, of course, that elements of pagan belief remained within the transformed pagan forms, and numerous prohibitions forbid priests during the Middle Ages from participating in ceremonies which were recognized still to be pagan in essence (e.g. the 'Minnetrinken'); evidence of this amalgamation of pagan practices and Christian meaning is present in our modern customs at Christmas, Carnival, All Souls' Day, etc. Stumpff applies this general principle to the dramatic ritual of the Church which developed into the liturgical plays. He considers these plays as in essence pagan ritual practices, which were forced into a Christian form and in this way purged to some extent of their pagan meaning. What were, for the older historians, excrescences, now become

¹ O. Almgren, *Nordische Felszeichnungen als religiöse Urkunden*, Frankfurt/Main, 1934 (trans. from the Swedish).

² O. Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen*, Frankfurt/Main, 1934, pp. 286 ff. For a balanced account and criticism of the work of Höfler and writers associated with him, including Stumpff, see E. A. Philippon, 'Die Volkskunde als Hilfswissenschaft der germanischen Religionsgeschichte' (*The Germanic Review*, XIII), 1938.

the root. The quack of the Visitation plays (*unguentarius, mercator, medicus*) not only finds his parallel in the tribal witch-doctor; he becomes the nucleus of the whole play, which is analysed as an initiation rite in which the initiand Christ dies and is resuscitated through the ointment of the witch-doctor.¹ The three Maries are a Christianized form of the Celtic-Germanic deities, the mothers (*matres, matrones*), to whose cult hundreds of Rhenish inscriptions testify.² The race of Peter and John to the Sepulchre represents the Spring contest frequently met with in folk-custom.³ A similar interpretation is given of the scenes and characters of the Nativity plays.⁴

Stumpff's interpretation has been subjected to severe criticism in several reviews,⁵ and I do not wish here to enter into a detailed criticism of his assertions. It is enough to mention the following points. The earliest Visitation plays are extremely simple, and intimately interwoven with the liturgy, while the later are more complex and include more of the elements we may call pagan: according to Stumpff's theory the earliest plays would be the nearest to their pagan prototypes. The course of events in the plays follows extremely closely the various Biblical narratives, and shows practically no signs of having been adapted from one cult to another. The scene embodying the quack is not found in any manuscript before the twelfth century, although Stumpff makes this the heart of the tradition. The Resurrection itself is represented only in fairly late plays, from the twelfth century onwards, and first in the French area, the German area lagging very considerably behind.⁶ If the plays were based directly on a pagan drama, the central ritual act would surely not be omitted, as the mere proclamation of the Resurrection is no substitute for the mimetic act (especially for the Almgren-Höfler school!). Above all, Stumpff has an extremely crude notion of the organization and history of the Germanic peoples. He tends to equate German with pagan; conceives of the Germanic peoples of the ninth to thirteenth centuries as being on a very primitive undifferentiated level of culture; and sees Christianity as an alien system imposed on them by force and guile.

¹ R. Stumpff, *op. cit.*, pp. 215 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 331 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 319 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 344 ff.

⁵ See in particular N. C. Brooks, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xxxvii, 1938, and E. Scheunemann, *Ztschr. f. dt. Philologie*, lxi and lxii, 1936 and 1937. A careful analysis of the contents of Stumpff's book is given by F. E. Sandbach, *Mod. Lang. Review*, xxxiii, 1938.

⁶ The Emergence from the Tomb is not one of the scenes denounced by Gerhoh of Reichersberg in ca. 1160, and we therefore have good reason for assuming that this scene was not dramatized in the German area before this time. See Young, *Drama*, i, 369 and E. Hartl, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1937, p. 37. The Resurrection itself is not depicted in Christian pictorial art till the latter part of the twelfth century, see N. C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy*, Illinois, 1921, p. 13.

At the same time, Stumpfl has the merit of having thrown into sharp relief a defect in earlier literary historians, namely, their neglect of the indigenous religious forms and beliefs prevalent among the Germanic peoples at the time of and after their conversions. Such cults and beliefs are of vital significance in the practical and political life of any society; and, since the structure of Germanic society did not change suddenly, it is to be expected that the religious habits also changed slowly. Historians of society and religion have indeed shown to what an extent the earlier Germanic organization contributed to the moulding of medieval society and religion, and how the medieval world grew out of a fusion of Germanic and Roman forms, developing within the general circumstances of an agrarian economy.¹ Their conclusions may fruitfully be applied to the history of the liturgical drama, and I will allow myself to summarize their views.

GENERAL HISTORICAL CONDITIONS

It is now understood that the Germanic peoples in the period of the so-called migration of the peoples were not primitive tribes or barbarous, destructive hordes, but had already reached a fairly high level of culture.² They were familiar with agriculture and property in land, and their social system was differentiated into ruler, hereditary nobles, freemen of varying rank and property, and unfree. They did not suddenly swoop upon the 'civilized' world and destroy the achievements of Rome. Their contacts with Rome stretched from before Caesar, and they filtered into the Roman provinces by a gradual process often of peaceful intercourse, sometimes of military attack, in the main seeking for land. They took over or shared in many of the Roman institutions, towns, system of land tenure and often religion. As the Roman empire broke up and the forms of centralized government decayed, decentralization progressively developed in the provinces under Roman rule, and thus the basis was laid for the Germanic kingdoms. In these areas was developed much of the organization and mode of life of the Germanic states, in the shelter of which many Roman subjects voluntarily took refuge. Owing to the military organization necessary during the migrations and during the struggles after settlement, separate Germanic tribes united in larger national alliances; at the

¹ See notably A. Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der europäischen Kulturentwicklung*, Vienna, 1923-4, 2nd ed., trans. as *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilisation*, 1937; A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 5 vols., Leipzig, 1906, 3rd ed.; E. Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, Tübingen, 1912; H. von Schubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter*, Tübingen, 1921.

² For the following, see especially Dopsch, *op. cit.* See also R. Much, *Die Germania des Tacitus*, Heidelberg, 1937.

same time the power of the kings became more absolute, and their peoples became their subjects, ruled by the king's officials. The distribution of land in the conquered territory according to rank or to services performed further increased differentiation within the state, and hastened the growth of the large estates. The economic and political rights granted by the early Carolingians to the great lords laid the basis of the feudal structure, which involved the decline in status of the great mass of the people.

The Christian Church played an important part in this development towards a feudal organization of society, and in its turn was deeply affected by this process. The Christian religion and the pagan Germanic cults were not, of course, opposites. The religion of the Germanic peoples in the historic period bears witness to the advanced stage of culture they had reached. By the time of the conversions of the West Germanic peoples (the sixth century and onwards) there was widespread among them a belief in supernatural personified forces which control life. The national conversions, it is agreed, were not a matter of religious convulsion but of enlightened compromise between Germanic and Christian customs and institutions (Clovis); and the rapid progress of Christianity suggests that it linked on to the pagan religion. The Christian Church also changed. In Troeltsch's terms, the Universalistic Church of the late Roman empire turned into the State Church of the Germanic kingdoms; the Church which repudiated the world as sinful became a Church which took on vast political and social responsibilities:¹ a transformation which began when the Church was recognized by Constantine and given the right to hold property. Of importance in this process was not only the position of the Church as a powerful landowner, but also the tradition of the pre-Christian Germanic cults, in which social and religious functions were intertwined.² It was thus natural that the Merovingians should look on their ecclesiastical dignitaries as their vassals.

The internal structure of the Church changed too. Not only did ecclesiastical princes assume the responsibilities of feudal lords, but also the highest posts in the Germanic churches became in many instances the preserve of the nobility, both in the richer towns (the chapters of cathedrals) and in the countryside (the greater monasteries).³ The strengthening of the hierarchy in the Church from the time of Pippin runs

¹ Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 196.

³ Schubert, *op. cit.*, pp. 208 (Ireland), 276 (England), 573 (Carolingian empire). 'In the ninth century on Germanic territory the bishopric is at least on the way to becoming a privilege of the Germanic nobility. There are cathedral foundations and monasteries which accepted only members of noble families', p. 573.

parallel with the growth of feudal forms, and the loyalty binding bishop to king, which is couched in terms similar to that binding the secular vassal to his liege lord, is embodied also in monastic vows.¹

The characteristics of the early Germanic interpretation of the Christian religion have frequently been described. In the early Germanic documents Christ appears as a warrior chief, at the head of heroic vassals, and the whole Biblical story is conceived as a heroic-feudal epic.² Less obvious, but equally significant, is the changing conception of the function of religious rites. On the one hand, many rites persisted outside the Church, especially those connected with daily life: with the Spring, the harvest, the dead; charms for sickness and accident. With time some of these customs were covered with a Christian veneer. pagan deities were sanctified, saints were toasted at Minnetrinken, charms invoked Christ instead of other powers, the feast of the dead was replaced by All Souls' Day (which was not generally observed till after A.D. 1006), etc. On the other hand, the significance of the established ecclesiastical ceremonies, such as prayer, baptism, etc., changed. They partook more of the nature of magic acts, claiming the power of forcing God to man's will, like the rites of tribal religion; all the more so since they were conducted in a strange tongue accompanied by mysterious movements and alien chants, all of which must have been impressively incomprehensible to the great mass of ignorant and superstitious believers and even to many priests in a period when reading and writing were a secret lore.³ In the eyes of the lay believers, even the donning of vestments must have meant the assumption of magic powers, analogous to those accorded by the wearing of pagan masks. Schubert suggests that it would not be difficult for tribes which, in historic times, were accustomed to make human sacrifices to their Gods, even perhaps the sacrifice of a king, to adopt the idea of a sacrificed Christ; but that the ceremonies of this religion, the Mass itself, had for the Germanic peoples a compelling function, compelled and did not merely implore God to do the worshippers' will.⁴ All the objects and rites of the Church would thus become in some sort magic instruments and acts.

¹ Schubert, op. cit., p. 621.

² Ibid., pp. 756 ff.; A. Heusler, *Die altgermanische Dichtung*, Potsdam, 1926, pp. 182 ff.; Hauck, op. cit., II, 795 ff.; R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Oxford, 1935, II, 444.

³ Schubert, op. cit., pp. 632 ff.

⁴ Ibid., p. 633. The use of prayer as magic incantation has been noted by P. Wagner, who points out that Notker's lines 'media vita in morte sumus' were sung as a charm against evil, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, 1901, p. 233. See also Hauck, II, 780 ff. The same process has been noted in Celtic Christianity; cf. too the heavy penalty attached to stumbling in the *periculosa oratio* of the Celtic Mass, L. Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, pp. 327, 337.

These brief remarks suffice to indicate that the history of the Christian Church and religion is not at all a simple matter of the unfolding of forms inherent in the original seed, but was fundamentally affected by the nature and development of the Germanic peoples. Economic and social factors (e.g. the constant and growing importance of the bishoprics as landed estates), and national (e.g. tribal organization and traditions), played their part in varying measure.¹ It is therefore to be expected that the liturgical forms themselves, and the liturgical plays with which we are here concerned, should bear the marks of this general process. The plays are associated with embellishments to the liturgy, the tropes, rather than with the liturgical Office itself, but it is necessary to bear in mind the history of the liturgy in the West.

Although in the eighth and ninth centuries liturgical forms were purified and regularized in accord with Rome, this did not mean that the older Roman forms were imposed without change. The language of the liturgy remained Latin, of course, and up to Carolingian times the music of the liturgy was unaffected by Germanic influences. But a number of changes occurred in the liturgy through the adoption of the Roman rites by Pippin and Charlemagne, and a great development of the liturgy and its chants took place, especially from the ninth century.² We may mention here the innovation of the Easter ceremonies of the Deposition, Elevation, and Visitation, which occurred between 800 and 950, though the place and mode of origin is unknown.³

Wagner points out that the Frankish way of treating the Respond prevailed at Rome itself from the ninth to the eleventh century, and he speaks of the 'liturgical creative power' of the new national (Germanic) churches.⁴ It may also be mentioned that in the ninth century there began a new mode of expounding the meaning of the Mass. Before this time, expositions had been 'simple, grammatical, matter-of-fact, and sometimes edifying'. In the ninth century a strong tendency developed

¹ For instance, in the peculiar organization of the national Church under Clovis and his successors Schubert sees an effect of the tradition of tribal religion (op. cit., pp. 146 ff.), though Dopsch contends that this organization grew out of a compromise between a strongly established, wealthy Church and the Frankish kings, independent of tribal forms (op. cit., pp. 274-82).

² P. Wagner, op. cit., pp. 114, 206 ff.

³ For various views on the origin of these ceremonies see K. Young, 'The dramatic associations of the Easter Sepulchre' (*Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, 10), 1920, pp. 11 ff., and *Drama*, I, 223 ff.; N. C. Brooks, 'The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy' (*Univ. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, 7, No. 2), 1921, pp. 30 ff.; J. Schwietering, 'Über den Ursprung des mittelalterlichen geistlichen Spiels' (*Ztschr. f. dt. Altertum*, LXII), 1925; H. Brinkmann, *Zum Ursprung des liturgischen Spieles* (Xenia Bonnensia), Bonn, 1929; Stumpff, op. cit., pp. 60 ff.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 121.

to expound the Mass allegorically, in terms of the various events of the life of Christ, as exemplified in the work of Amalarius of Metz.¹ This cannot be explained merely through the existence of large masses of newly converted heathen, ignorant of Latin and the meaning of the ceremonies;² it suggests a new attitude on the part of the priests themselves. In any case, there is a marked dramatic element in such expositions.

In the ninth century begins that great development of embellishments to the liturgy known as tropes, of which the sequences or proses are a particular type. Closely associated with the two monks Notker and Tutilo of St Gall, though not originating there, these pious embellishments added greatly to the liveliness of the Mass and the Canonical Office. Of particular importance is the fact that as early as Tutilo there was revealed a tendency to give a dramatic form to the tropes, in which the choir divided into two parts as usually in antiphonic singing. This is the form of the famous Easter trope, the *Quem quaeritis*, from St Gall (tenth century) and of similar contemporary tropes from elsewhere.

Stumpff has drawn particular attention to the melodies of the tropes, and has pointed out that recent research has corrected the earlier views.³ He quotes a number of authorities who assert that the melodies of the early tropes and sequences are near to traditional Germanic folksong, thus providing a further example of the amalgamation of Roman ecclesiastical forms with the Germanic tradition.⁴

There is therefore enough evidence to show that the forces at work in the moulding of medieval society and religion were active too in the shaping of the liturgy, its rites and its expression. Let us view the Visitation plays in this light.

THE LITURGICAL DRAMA

(a) *The dramatic form*

There is a marked development in the dramatic construction of the Visitation plays from the earlier simple to the later complex forms. In many churches, of course, the simple form remained undeveloped; but a historical development may be assumed since the more complex forms

¹ Adolph Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, Freiburg/Breisgau, 1902.

² Stumpff, *op. cit.*, p. 75, takes this mechanical view, fitting this tendency into his general theme of the Church's 'tactics of conversion'.

³ Cf. Wagner, *op. cit.*, pp. 219 ff. Wagner's views are somewhat confusing. He insists that both the literary and musical evidence proves the Byzantine provenance of tropes and sequences, but finds also that the new method of singing (one syllable to one note) made the sequences approximate to the popular mode of singing so that 'the sequences were a sort of reaction of the Folksong against the sublime art of the Church'.

⁴ Stumpff, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff.

occur only in later manuscripts. Young has described the infinite gradations from the normal mode of liturgical singing to the dramatic representation of the Easter trope.¹ The tropes become plays when particular priests impersonate the characters concerned in the action, essentially the Maries and the angel or angels. Although impersonation does not occur before the tenth century, a very high degree of impersonation is already shown in one of the earliest plays, that included in the *Regularis Concordia* of St Ethelwold ca. A.D. 965-75.² While the plays grow in complexity, the fundamental dramatic participation is there from the start.

The assumption of a role by some of the singers of the choir is the essential step towards the play, and is often accompanied, even in the earliest versions, by the wearing of distinctive robes and the designation of a particular place as the scene of the action, e.g. the altar as the Sepulchre. Thus is formed a complete little scene. But it differs from a modern play perhaps most of all in being a play, not for a public, but for the actors themselves. It is part of the liturgy, sung as a religious ceremony, directed to God and not to the people, a play of the priests for the priests, carried on in their own language and forms. It is 'a celebration in essence not different from the Mass'.³ Thus even such acts as the display of the grave-cloths by the Maries or Peter and John as a rule is directed to the choir, not to the people. This is what would be expected, since the plays are embedded in the Office, and culminate in the *Te Deum*.

There was always, of course, in the Canonical Office and the Mass a link between the officiating clergy and the people. But among the Germanic peoples, not long converted, full of pagan traditions, and ignorant of Latin, this link was necessarily restricted, apart from vernacular sermons, to such operations as the elevation of the Host: highly symbolical, ritualistic gestures which had for the worshipping public more of a magic significance than anything else. Thus, perhaps, we can explain the display of the grave-cloths 'ad conventum vel ad populum' in a text of unidentified origin of the eleventh or twelfth century.⁴ Evidence of participation of the people in the plays is afforded by the singing of the Easter hymn 'Christ ist erstanden' before the *Te Deum*. But this intervention 'seems to lie outside the main period of the evolution of the *Quem*

¹ Young, *Drama*, I, 201 ff.

² *Ibid.*, I, 249-50; Chambers, op. cit., II, 309.

³ H. Brinkmann, 'Die Eigenform des mittelalterlichen Dramas in Deutschland', *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, XVIII, 19. The limitation of theatrical gesture and expression in these plays has been ascribed to the religious nature of the performance by M. Herrmann, *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte*, Berlin, 1914, pp. 176 and 202.

⁴ Young, *Drama*, I, 263.

quæritis’,¹ and the hymn was not attached to the plays before the thirteenth century.² In MSS. of the thirteenth century and later, evidence of all sorts accumulates to show that the plays are more and more written for the public; and with this change form, style and content are remoulded.³ ‘Until a new people formed in the rising towns, not the nation but only clergy and nobility are the factors of ecclesiastical development’ (Hauck, II, 805).

In the same way, the settings of these plays, or rather the various *loci* at which the different parts of the more developed plays were sung, were not constructed like a modern stage, with the object of showing an action to the people. They were disposed in the earlier times to suit the convenience of the singers and the liturgical practice, e.g. the use of the altar as the Sepulchre and the occasional disposition of some singers behind the altar.⁴ In some cases the Sepulchre was situated in the crypt,⁵ clearly without concern for the onlookers, who would see little more than the procession at the beginning and end of the performance. The transference of the site of the performance into the nave, church-porch and market-place indicates a significant change in the participation of the public. But the evidence of the earlier plays suggests that they were written and played by the priests for their own purposes, and not primarily out of consideration for their flock. It can be understood, on the other hand, why the latter reason should be advanced in their justification, as in the *Regularis Concordia*.

If we regard the liturgical plays from the point of view of the clergy, new light is thrown on their function. In them, the priests re-enact the central event of their religion; but acting meant for them something very different from its modern significance. When we act to-day, we are conscious that we ‘make believe’. But when a primitive people act, they create a reality. It is a common observation of anthropologists that primitive folk taking part in masked ritual act as if they were possessed

¹ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 35.

² Young, *Drama*, I, 636.

³ For example, the discursive form, the use of the vernacular, the development of realism of detail, the approximation in material and methods to the medieval sermon. On the last point, see G. R. Owst, *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England*, 1933. Owst does not make clear that the influence of the popular sermons is confined to the later plays (twelfth century and later); and, in spite of his strictures, this influence has been noted earlier, e.g. R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, 1891, I, 261 ff., and L. Petit de Julleville, *La comédie et les mœurs en France au moyen âge*, Paris, 1886 (‘sermons joyeux’).

⁴ Young, *Drama*, I, 241 (MS. of Melk, eleventh–twelfth century). In many of the simpler plays singers representing the angels are disposed to right and left of the altar, or behind it, and others representing the Maries in front of the altar. In the absence of all realistic disguise, and since the dialogue was in Latin, it is difficult to see how this arrangement could suggest the Sepulchre scene to the lay worshippers, though it could have an intense meaning for actors and initiates.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 257 (Wurzburg), 280 (Treves).

by the souls they represent, and believe themselves to be so,¹ and Höfler (op. cit.) has discussed many examples of this belief in possessedness which occur right up to modern times in the Germanic area. The meaning of primitive ritual, too, is different from modern; primitive folk seek, through the magic act, to control and bend the God to their will. Grønbech has described how the ritual acts which he discerns in the Edda do not so much re-tell an ancient story as serve to make ancient feats and strength live again and infuse the present.

It would be an error, of course, to term the priests who performed the liturgical Office primitive. The primitive tribe had long before the tenth century developed into a wider organization. Nor were the priests who were concerned in the writing and acting of the liturgical plays members of the more backward, superstitious, primitive sections of medieval society. The plays grew and developed in the larger and richer cathedral churches and monasteries, in which the influence of the nobility was strong and where many members of the nobility would hold office. But even in the circles of the aristocracy pagan forms and myths were rife throughout the Middle Ages, from Alcuin's song on the contention of Winter and Spring to the Minnesang and the Graal legends;² even among the clergy Germanic personal names persisted until after the eleventh century,³ and the name is of deep significance in early society. Of the many pagan survivals in medieval society, it may easily be understood that the pagan conception of the religious rite is one of the most persistent, all the more persistent since it is intangible and hard to designate as heresy.

The pagan rite is not a commemorative act like the early Christian Mass, but an imaginative re-enactment of an event, a renewal of an event. Its most significant aspect, from this point of view, is the active participation of the actors, by which the latter make the myth in which they believe take on fresh life. And in this sense the liturgical plays are a pagan survival in a Christian guise. Even in its later forms, when it is swollen with events, the Easter play retains this fundamental character: 'The Redemption was celebrated not as a unique historical event, but as an event of timeless recurrence and efficacy: ever efficacious when its memory was enacted'.⁴

In enacting the scenes connected with the Resurrection, the priests were thus expressing an attitude to and conception of religion which grew

¹ For the Germanic area see K. Meuli, Art. *Maske*, in *Handbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932-3, and V. Grønbech, *The Culture of the Teutons*, 1931, II, 216 ff., 260 ff.

² Cf. J. L. Weston, *From Ritual to Romance*, 1920.

³ R. Priebisch and W. E. Collinson, *The German Language*, 1934, p. 255.

⁴ H. Brinkmann, op. cit., p. 21.

in the period following the great conversions. In donning their simple disguises, the priests put on a new character, that of the figure they impersonated, and by re-enacting the events of the Resurrection they asserted the truth of those events. Their aim was not mimicry and they did not employ realistic methods, for the function of ritual drama is not imitation but the reawakening of belief and energy. The plays are then a further manifestation of that tendency to a magical interpretation of religion in this period which historians have described (see above). They are an invocation, a rebirth of the truths of the Christian religion through song, disguise, acting. Gerhoh of Reichersberg's criticism of the plays, to wit, that the priests took on in reality the characters of the persons they acted,¹ is particularly pertinent. From this point of view a new significance may be attached to Amalarius of Metz's symbolical exposition of the Mass, in which the gestures of the officiant are related to the acts of Christ.²

While the origin of the drama may thus be ascribed to its function as a religious ceremony of this particular kind, this function was also its limitation. This drama may be said to embody the central tragic experience, but it is not tragedy. It is a mystery, a rite; it is esoteric, metaphysical, priestly. As long as drama remained in the priestly orbit it did not attain to the public form and human earthly terms which are the characteristics of great tragedy.

(b) *The theme*

In the earliest form of Easter play, as in the Easter trope when inserted in Matins, the dramatic climax is reached with the angelic announcement that Christ is risen, followed by the triumphant declaration of the Resurrection intoned by the whole choir, as for instance in the antiphon *Surrexit enim*, and closed by the *Te Deum*. The tension of this central scene is heightened and varied by the addition of questions such as *Quis revolvat nobis lapidem*, proclamations such as *Venite et videte locum*, and lyrical sequences such as *Victimae paschali*. The scene in which Peter and John run to the Sepulchre and look inside, sometimes displaying the grave-cloths, fits organically into this framework, so that a drama of high intensity and pure structure is created. The addition of the meeting of Mary Magdalene with Christ disguised as the gardener tends to disperse

¹ The relevant passage is printed in Young, *Drama*, Appendix C, II, 524-5.

² *Ibid.*, I, 81. Young points out that Honorius of Autun (ca. 1100), Amalarius's imitator, explicitly compares the celebrant of the Mass with the tragic actor of the profane stage, I, 82-3, 549.

the imaginative experience, bringing the impersonal emotion down to the level of the personal.¹

When further scenes accrue, from the twelfth century onwards, the drama tends to be dissipated with each addition. Faithfulness to Holy Scripture and delight in realistic and humorous portrayal are stronger than the concern for the central experience. The authors do not grasp anew and interpret the death and resurrection of Christ, but develop, often skilfully and dramatically, new scenes such as the guard of soldiers round the Sepulchre, the Harrowing of Hell, etc. In such Easter plays as those of Origny-Sainte-Benoite and Klosterneuburg (thirteenth century) the central event, the announcement of the Resurrection to the three Maries, is scarcely, from a formal point of view, the apex of the drama; our attention is absorbed by the purchase of the ointment, the setting and bribery of the guard, the Harrowing of Hell.² The plays of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are expanded to cover events of the Old as well as the New Testament, and ample use is made of apocryphal writings. Dramatic imagination goes on a new course, with which I am here not concerned. The plays become progressively more and more detached from the liturgy, more secular, they remain religious, but the religion changes, and many pagan elements intrude.

The liturgical plays proper are deeply reverent, and only after the twelfth century do humorous, realistic elements enter. The solemn, elevated tone they take over from the Office removes the plays from the sphere of pagan ritual, which is usually agitated and often laughter-provoking. The Christian significance of the whole rite is preserved. The Gospel stories are followed with very considerable accuracy, and the theme of the Resurrection is developed with astonishing purity when we consider that there are over 400 such plays extant.

The theme of resurrection is dramatized frequently in other liturgical plays, notably the Raising of Lazarus, St Nicholas and the Scholars, and in certain versions of the Slaughter of the Innocents.³ There is, however, no textual evidence to indicate that these plays have anything to do with tribal initiatory rites. Stumpff, in order to prove that the Visitation plays are essentially initiation ceremonies, has to go to a Czech play of the fourteenth century to discover 'the nucleus of the original medicine-

¹ Young, *Drama*, I, 239 ff., provides an invaluable selection of texts and a judicious commentary, following Lange's definition of the three stages of growth of the Visitation plays. In many cases Young corrects and completes Lange's texts (C. Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, München, 1887).

² Young, *Drama*, I, 411 ff.

³ E.g. that from Compiègne and that in the Fleury play-book, Young, *Drama*, II, 53 and 110.

man play, into which later on the scene of the Maries was inserted'.¹ There seems no doubt that the quack (*unguentarius, mercator, medicus*) belongs to the pagan tradition, and is related to the doctor of the Mummers' plays.² His entry into the Visitation plays was legitimately effected through the words from St Mark: 'Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata, ut venientes ungerent Jesum.' The development of this incident of buying ointment into a separate scene was aided technically by the mode of presentation, as the purchase would take place in a separate locality, the quack's shop, as indicated for instance in the play of Origny-Sainte-Benoite: 'Ci doit estre apparrillies li Marchans et les trois Maries auoucques leur oingnement.'³ The development of this scene into a burlesque took place no doubt under the influence of the itinerant quacks, themselves issuing from the witch-doctor tradition, believed to have magic powers (as to-day), and accustomed to cajole through entertainment. This intrusion of a secular figure into the liturgical drama is not isolated. From the thirteenth century, secular and pagan elements enter more and more into the religious drama. But Stumpf's attempt to prove that they were all there from the start and were the real basis of the Visitation plays is a fantastic construction. In actual fact, their entry into the liturgical drama is the product of new times and circumstances, and signifies that a new section of people is finding its art-form. It is impossible not to connect the growth of pagan and secular, humorous and realistic elements in the religious drama with the removal of the representations to church door or market-place, the increasing participation of lay actors, the use of the vernacular: in general, with the development of the towns.

Nevertheless, Stumpf has done a service in raising with insistence the question: Why does the idea of resurrection engross minds so deeply as to produce the intense emotion of the liturgical plays? It might be answered that there is no problem here, since the Resurrection is the central theme of Christianity. But the questions of death and immortality preoccupy men with different intensity in different periods of Christian history; from the internal evidence of the plays alone we may see how in the later plays the metaphysical aspects become blurred and subordinate to the positive, realistic grasp of practical life.⁴

It may well be maintained that the emotions of the Resurrection ceremony preserve and canalize the cycle of emotion of pagan initiation

¹ Stumpf, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

² Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 205 and A. Beatty, *op. cit.*

³ Young, *Drama*, I, 413.

⁴ See for instance the *Towneley Plays*, E.E.T.S., Extra Series, LXXI, 1897.

rites—the dying of the initiand to the old world and his rebirth in the new. The lack of evidence of any actual connexion, and the knowledge we have of the much earlier breakdown of tribal forms (evident, for example, in the laws of the Germanic nations written down during the Merovingian and Carolingian periods¹), makes it clear that the liturgical plays are not based directly on initiation ceremonies. All the evidence goes to prove that they were based directly on the events of the Resurrection as related in the Bible, and the most that can be said is that the theme of the Resurrection itself embodied the emotional functions of tribal initiation. The persistence of the notion of rebirth is certainly a most striking phenomenon in medieval religious history, being expressed in the practice of most of the medieval sects; and it is no fantasy to connect it not only with Christian thought and experience, but also with pagan practice.

At the same time, other circumstances of the period in which the liturgical drama took shape suggest that the problem of death and its Christian solution, the immortality of the soul, were of peculiar importance for the men of this period. In the Edda Grønbech has found evidence of the early Germanic view of death.² The most primitive attitude is that death is not a matter of dread for the individual, who lives on in the clan, or in a child who bears his name. With the breakdown of the clan and the merging of the tribe into greater units, death becomes more and more of an individual problem, and the idea of a compensatory life after death develops. In the Edda we meet two conceptions of Valhalla: the earlier one, where the warrior lives on beneath the earth, a living corpse, with his ancestors; and the later, where Odin lives with the immortals joyously in heaven.³ This later, more individualistic notion of death and immortality leads towards Christianity. There are many examples of the supplanting of tribal loyalties by personal values in Germanic custom and myth, e.g. the transformation of the Kriemhild saga from the apotheosis of kinship to the exaltation of personal love. In the Middle Ages clan loyalties merged, without being completely lost, into feudal loyalties; but the conflict between these loyalties and personal values was not solved until the rise of the towns provided a new basis of

¹ F. Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, 1911, provides a valuable study of the breakdown of tribal ties as evident in early Germanic custom and laws. Bold deductions as to initiation in the early Germanic tribes, based on evidence from Tacitus and the Edda, are made by Lily Weiser, *Altgermanische Junglingsweißen und Männerbünde*, Bühl/Baden, 1927.

² V. Grønbech, *op. cit.*, pp. 311 ff.

³ G. Neckel, *Wälhall, Studien über germanischen Jenseitsglauben*, Dortmund, 1913, pp. 31 ff. F. R. Schröder, *Germanentum und Hellenismus*, Heidelberg, 1924, considers the later conception of Valhalla to have been imported from the Hellenistic astral religion, the source also of the heavenly Jerusalem of the Apocalypse (pp. 21 ff.).

life, and a new relation of man to man. This struggle was fought out also in the Church, for the Church was intimately linked with secular, feudal, even tribal forms.

In the tenth century there began that great movement of purification of religious life which is associated with Cluny, though not restricted to Cluny and its offshoots. Many of the secular beliefs, practices, and connexions of the clergy were eradicated, and a great intensification, individualization of religious experience took place. Religion became, to a degree not known before in the Germanic area, a matter for the individual. Among the clergy secular forms were weakened. At the same time, the whole conception of the relation of Church and society underwent a change, and there grew up the conception and practice of the supreme Church.

The Visitation plays belong historically to this period of great spiritual crisis, when individualistic formulations were taking the place of tribal, and when the Church was asserting her own sphere of activity (social, political and theoretical) as being all-embracing. The plays may be seen, therefore, as an intense form of the dominant metaphysical problem: the struggle of the individual, cut off from traditional associations, with the idea of death; and this struggle took shape within the Church, within an organization which offered both a practical shelter for the individual, and an answer to his spiritual anguish.

It has frequently been asked, Why did the Visitation in particular form the nucleus for the dramatic expression of the joy in the Resurrection?¹ The Easter trope which originally served as a preface to the introit of the Mass did not develop dramatic form in this position, but only when it was transferred to the Canonical Office, between the last responsory of Matins and the *Te Deum*.² In this position the visit of the Maries occurs just before dawn, as in the Gospel account; it has, therefore, a direct evocative effect. It is probable, too, that from early times at this point in the ceremony a place representing the sepulchre of Christ was censed, and there are evidences of such a ceremony in the plays, so that the act of censuring may be considered to have given rise to further gestures. Schwietering suggests that the overflowing ('dionysiac') joy expressed in the *Te Deum* that closes the Easter Matins was the emotional cradle of the Easter plays.³

¹ For references, see n. 1, p. 382 above.

² Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 11 ff; Young, *Drama*, I, 231 ff., whom I here follow.

³ J. Schwietering, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.

CONCLUSION

The views expressed in this article concerning the origin of the liturgical drama of the Middle Ages are based, in general, on the principle that there is no automatic unfolding of an art-form, and that the various factors determining growth may be analysed. As Herder wrote in 1773: 'If we postulate a people... that has the desire to invent its own drama, the first questions would be: when? where? under what conditions? what is its raw material? and one does not need to prove that the invention will be and can be nothing but the result of these questions.'¹ And it seems to me a legitimate criticism of the scholars who have done so much in the investigation of the Easter plays that they have not set themselves all these questions. I am conscious of gaps and inadequacies in my own exposition, but hope that some significant associations have been uncovered.

What I have sought to do is to bring into the sphere of evidence the general movement of Germanic society in the period in which the plays took shape, i.e. up to and including the twelfth century. This aim involved an examination of the shaping of feudalism, as it begins with the Carolingians, and in particular of the medieval Church. In all the great institutions and customs of the times we find an amalgamation or fusion of earlier Germanic forms with Roman, no less in religion than in land-tenure and political organization; and this fusion is in no sense an arbitrary one, in no sense imposed, but arises out of the forms of life existent at the time and follows the lines upon which society and its economic relations developed.

The liturgical plays thus appear as part of a great development of society and religion, indeed as a significant part of the religious cult of the times, as the expression of a religious attitude with its own specific characteristics. In their theme they reflect with intensity the faith of men living in a period when ancient communal ties were collapsing, for whom death became an individual problem, and who found their answer practically in isolation from secular ties in the shelter of the Church, theoretically in the Resurrection. Formally the plays reflect the will not passively to adore God or commemorate his sacrifice, but through active participation in the rite to recreate his Resurrection, and by recreation to assert its everpresent truth. Pagan ritual forms are grafted upon Christian, in a period of religious and social transformation, to produce the first beginnings of drama.

¹ J. G. Herder, *Shakespeare, Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Suphan, 1877-99, vol. v.

The ground-form of the medieval drama, as of Greek tragedy, may well be the initiation rite, the apparent death and rebirth of the initiate, which, with the decay of tribal forms, has taken on a new shape and significance in the later religion. But Greek tragedy grew much more harmoniously out of the ancient primitive ritual of the tribes, and was fostered in the city, Athens.¹ The development of the Germanic cults was much more tortuous. They were deeply affected by the vast and impressive culture of Rome, and by Christianity and the Christian Church. The liturgical drama grew in feudal circumstances, not in cities.

Greek tragedy was a public ceremony addressed to the people, not merely or mainly a priestly function. The medieval drama in its early form belongs, not to the people, but to the feudal Church. It is ecclesiastical, not popular. Its theme is an esoteric religious mystery, not expounded, but enacted; and the theme and its form are thus restricted. It is not drama in the full sense of the word, but dramatic observance. The fundamental tragic experience is embodied in these liturgical plays, but in a ritual, religious form, not humanized and brought into the light of day as with the Greeks or Shakespeare. Tragedy akin to that of the Greeks grew up in modern times only with the emancipation of the drama from the Church: with the rise of the cities and of powerful, organized national life.

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¹ See the brilliant investigations of G. Thomson, *Aeschylus and Athens*, 1941.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

PUTTING JAQUES INTO 'AS YOU LIKE IT'

Was the role of the melancholy Jaques written when *As You Like It* was first composed? An affirmative answer has been taken for granted in all discussions of the play that I have seen,¹ although the observation is commonplace that the character has little to do with the plot. One may no longer assume a priori that the text of an Elizabethan play printed after it had been in the theatre for a time is identical with the original version, for scholars are turning up evidence that many dramas underwent refurbishing.² Since no information exists about the details of the comedy prior to the *First Folio*,³ the idea that the part is coeval with the play is actually just a conjecture, unsupported despite the long-standing failure to observe the significance of the evidence to the contrary. Inasmuch as lack of assimilation is the essence of any case for interpolation, the tenuous linking of Jaques and the plot of *As You Like It* justifies my opening question.

Many details of the initial text may be established by a source study, for material carried over to the *Folio* must have been in any intermediate version. In addition, elements fully assimilated into the action may have existed from the first, since they leave no hint of afterthought. The question can therefore be advantageously approached by comparing the characters in Lodge's *Rosalynde* with the dramatis personae. On doing so one notices first of all that Shakespeare⁴ added ten persons of enough

¹ For example, E. E. Stoll's attempt to establish an early date for Marston's *The Malcontent* assumes that the usual dating of Jaques' role with *As You Like It* is unassailable. See his 'Shakespeare, Marston, and the Malcontent Type', *Modern Philology*, III (1905-6), 281-303.

² The above sentence was drafted before the appearance of Ronald B. McKerrow's *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), in which (on p. 6) I notice the opinion, '... there can be little doubt that his [Shakespeare's] lines would be subject to modification in the light of actual performance, as well as to later revision when, for example, a change in the constitution of the company necessitated a redistribution of the roles, or a desire was felt to introduce some topical allusion or to parody or improve upon some rival show.' McKerrow is speaking of Shakespeare's text generally, not of *As You Like It* in particular.

³ The entry, 'to be staied', 4 August 1600, though it positively fixed a date for the existence of a version bearing the final title, withheld the text then existing. There seems to be no external reference to Jaques before 1623. The closest approximation is a dubious parallel between a passage from Heywood, dated 1607, and Jaques' speech, v, iv, 184-93; see *The Shakespeare Allusion-Book* (reissue of 1932), I, 179.

⁴ I use the name generically for the author or authors, not intending to take issue with Professor Wilson's conjecture that Hymen was a non-Shakespearian interpolation. See Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson's edition of *As You Like It* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 162-3.

importance to be named. The dramatizing process would justify the presence of four of these ten: Dennis gives Oliver some one to talk to in the first scene, and Le Beau supplies a minor dramatic need in the next, both of them then disappearing from the play; Amiens provides the singing member of the company an appropriate part; Hymen is a natural figure in a wedding finale, once the use of a masque-like scene is decided upon.

Whether Touchstone and his three satellites were created because of a desire of the author to include a court fool or because of a need to fit Robert Armin with a suitable role is immaterial to this discussion.¹ for the decision to add him to the action was made before the play was plotted. In fact, his development shows us how Shakespeare could attach a new character to the old action: he assigned Touchstone a place in the life of Lodge's characters, he gave him simple duties, necessary to the progress of the original plot, and so wove him into the fabric of the tale.² The fool's presence naturally summons Audrey; she in turn drags in William. The success of Touchstone's wooing makes need for Sir Oliver Martext. Thus one can see that the invention of these four was part of the invention of Touchstone and, like him, settled upon in advance of composition.

The two other characters not found in Lodge are Jaques and the courtier who exists solely to introduce him. Many critics have observed that the melancholy character has no psychological relation to the main action, but I wish to point to the textual evidence that he was not in the author's mind when the rest of the play was composed. Suppose from the text of *As You Like It* we remove some 250 lines from five scenes. Then suppose we change the speech tags on ninety remaining lines in five scattered scenes from 'Jaques' to 'First Lord'.³ Jaques is completely out; but we still have a sound play that presents the whole story of Rosalind and Orlando; this resultant play is good romantic comedy. Although the reader misses Jaques, the point relevant to the purpose here is that the characters do not. His absence breaks no thread of motivation; no character refers to him or to what he stands for. Literally no

¹ Austin K. Gray, 'Robert Armine, the Fool', *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 673-85.

² Here are a few particular instances. At the court of the usurping duke Touchstone brings Celia a message from her father as a pretext for the first entrance. While on stage he interrogates Le Beau about the wrestling contest. Successful in her promise to Rosalind to 'woo him' to accompany them into banishment, Celia makes his presence in the forest of Arden an element in the main plot as well as an occasion for the exhibition of wit. As a butt for others' jibes, Touchstone is integrated into the situations in which he is present.

³ The passages to be cut out are as follows: II, i, 25-69; II, vii, 1-87 and 139-66; III, ii, 268-314; IV, i, 1-33; and V, iv, 181-96. References are to the Oxford Shakespeare. The passages for shifting speeches are II, v; II, vii, 89-101; III, iii; IV, ii, and V, iv, 35-113.

other alterations than those mentioned above are necessary to produce a logical, coherent, theatrically complete romantic comedy. No other play involving a 'malcontent' can be cut so readily. No other play of Shakespeare presents a character of comparable magnitude who is not attached to the action or the dialogue by numerous references. Is there any explanation of these facts more probable than the conjecture here advanced: namely, that Shakespeare completed the dramatization of Lodge's novel and later interpolated the part of Jaques?

Under what circumstances should we expect such an addition? Our present understanding of customs in Elizabethan theatres does not support the suggestion that a playwright would spontaneously insert a new character and the accompanying changes into a completed play. Rather we should assume that the company owning a play would decide that alterations were needed and would seek out the author to do the necessary literary work. I suggest therefore that the evolution might have been about as follows: Instructed to insert an important figure, the poet economically employed the device of making a character *seem* to be a part of the play when he is an actual irrelevance. He selected a minor lord's role¹ and hastily built it up by the addition of interesting talk—talk so very fascinating that its irrelevance would pass unnoticed. By an easily inserted exposition in advance of appearance, he made the new character seem both important and connected.

If this conjecture is sound, the passages in which Jaques is conspicuous should be, in structure, either independent scenes, loosely attached passages at the beginnings of scenes,² or patent interruptions of an action in progress. In irrelevance to the plot and in emphasis on Jaques, these passages should contrast sharply³ with those in which there is commonplace material originally assigned to the unimportant lord, although the dialogue in the latter case might be hastily touched up with a witty or a melancholy turn here and there to make it pass. Let us examine the pertinent scenes.

(1) An elaborate exposition of the character of Jaques prepares for his initial appearance. No other character in Shakespeare is favoured with such emphatic advance attention. At the opening of Act II, Duke Senior

¹ Writing for a fixed number of men, as all Elizabethan dramatists did, the poet would find it simpler to create a new character by the alteration of an existing colourless role than to cancel a minor part completely and substitute a wholly new one.

² No theoretical reason occurs to me to explain why the ends of scenes should not be used too, but, as is shown below, none are. The passage v, iv, 181-96, is an interruption just before the close.

³ If there were gradations, my conjecture would be absurd. Almost any role in any play might be called an interpolation, if the complexities of character could be ascribed to fluctuating success in a hypothetical revision.

and his attending lords can reveal themselves in their forest abode in twenty-five lines during which Jaques is unmentioned, and then the exiled court must spend forty-five describing Jaques. Surely no effort is spared in making him seem important.

(2) When we catch the first actual glimpse of this much-heralded man, in II, v, he is merely playing second fiddle to the singing lord of Amiens. The scene makes a useful contribution to the main story, for it sets the atmosphere of the merry greenwood, and it has intrinsic merit besides. but Jaques's inadequate part is out of scale with his glowing introduction. This employment of a major character in the building up of a minor figure is not customary with Shakespeare or with other playwrights, for obvious dramaturgic reasons. The fact that Jaques's appearances fall sharply into the two extremes of emphasis, that the 'feeder' function is not mixed with 'star' scenes, is comprehensible if one assumes that the 'feeder' part was hastily transferred to Jaques from another character.

(3) The fact that he has already been before the audience does not prevent a brief second exposition, in II, vii, which opens with Duke Senior, Amiens, and other lords in the act of building up further anticipation of Jaques. His coming is slightly delayed to enhance his importance, and this time he rewards expectations fully with his report of his forest interview with Touchstone. He talks almost constantly until Orlando brings the company back to Lodge's plot with his electrifying entrance with drawn sword. Jaques subsides while Orlando is delivering his message. After the departure of the latter, Duke Senior gives Jaques an opportunity to explore the artificially relevant idea that all the world's a stage. These devices make the scene centre in the melancholy Jaques we all know and enjoy. He belongs to the play for the sake of these few speeches—speeches which make not the least addition to the main story, for even Mercutio's Queen Mab speech has not so complete an irrelevance to the time and the place. Where else can one find an important speech by an important character so obviously dragged in, so obviously, therefore, an interpolation?¹

After Jaques's big scene, his further appearances are of two sorts: those which could have been easily inserted to make him seem a part of the play, and those which show him filling a part that might have been

¹ Since this is the scene of Jaques's longest appearance, it is the place where one would expect the greatest alteration in the earlier play. It is not surprising, therefore, that the speech on the seven ages of man does dramatically what a song might do, indicates the passage of time during which Orlando fetches Adam. Amiens was present, and he probably sang a song in the early version.

originally given to the negligible lord whom he replaced. He comes on in five later scenes, which we inspect in turn.

(1) In III, ii he enters with Orlando when the latter returns to the part of the forest where he has been pinning verses on trees. The situation is, in essence, the beginning of a scene. The two men engage in badinage over Orlando's verses and lovelorn state. After a half-dozen personal gibes, Jaques departs. Celia and Rosalind are both present and able to overhear these efforts at wit, but they make no reference to Jaques or to what the two men have been saying. Such simple conversation without relation to other characters is easily inserted.

(2) Jaques has twelve lines in III, iii, partly asides commenting on Touchstone's wooing of Audrey. Some of these remarks are structural to the scene, but they are not noticeably characteristic of Jaques. They might have been assigned to the supposed original lord.

(3) The first thirty lines of IV, i are structurally identical with Jaques's part in III, ii. He enters with Celia and Rosalind, jokes about his melancholy humour until Orlando enters, and then escapes from entanglement with the plot by an immediate exit.

(4) In IV, ii Jaques leads a chorus of foresters in a masculine ditty about horns. There is no mention of melancholy, and it is not unreasonable to think that originally the short scene revolved about the replaced lord.

(5) The closing scene, V, iv, has apparently both types of passage. Although present, the talkative Jaques is silent during thirty-five lines of general conversation. But with the entry of Touchstone and Audrey he becomes the interlocutor who exploits the foibles of the fool for the amusement of Duke Senior. He guides the conversation firmly until Touchstone has finished quarrelling by the book. This looks like an interpolation, as two of his speeches smack of the true Jaques, but his questioning suggests the minor role, which I conjecture he replaced. The passage can be explained as the best example of rewriting the lord's part. Late in the scene, after the second brother of Orlando brings the news of the surprise turn in every one's fortunes through the conversion of the usurping duke, Jaques interrupts Duke Senior for less than a score of lines, scattering unessential impertinences systematically, and then departs. Duke Senior's closing speech is a repetition of the idea he expressed before Jaques spoke up. This passage might well be an insertion designed to give a final emphasis to Jaques.

The main conjecture of this study affords, incidentally, a reasonable explanation for the presence in the text of a second Jaques, the son of Sir Roland de Boys. On first plotting the play Shakespeare could have

dubbed Lodge's Ternadyne Jaques, as an ostensibly French appellation, like de Boys, Amiens, La Beau, and Dennis. When he decided to add an important figure, perhaps he shifted the satisfactory name to the larger role. In doing so he may have failed to cut out the mention of Jaques in the initial speech of the play, the only time the second brother is named in the *Folio* text. No oversight could be much less noticeable, for he enters the play only in the final scene, about fifty lines before Rosalind's epilogue. Here he is consistently 'Second Brother' in stage direction, in speech tags, and in his own words. Have not all editors since Rowe needlessly nullified the author's later judgment by making the speech tags in the last scene conform to a vestigial slip in the first?

My hypothesis that Jaques is an afterthought is not controverted by Dr A. W. Pollard's and Professor Dover Wilson's bibliographical evidences of revision.¹ None of their verse-fossils or inconsistencies occur in relation to Jaques. I find no reason, however, for supposing that the revision which they find evidence of occurred at another time than that of the conjectural insertion of Jaques. On the contrary three of Wilson's four examples of cutting down affect Orlando and the fourth touches Rosalind. What is more natural than the reduction in space allotted to old principal characters when a new is being inserted?

In concluding the presentation of the case for the interpolation of Jaques, I wish to emphasize that my study of the text has revealed no elements which do not fit into the explanation advanced. The alternative to the hypothesis of a later writing-in of Jaques implies the rather untenable belief that a playwright of Shakespeare's training and established practice would have a very important character in his mind and yet, for no apparent reason, resolutely restrain himself from following his otherwise invariable custom of lacing him into the dialogue at every convenient occasion. Or, viewing the problem from another angle, one may say that to justify the traditional assumption that Jaques was in the original play, we must believe that revision is unlikely, even in a text which has been about the playhouse for over twenty years. Conjectures cannot replace documented facts, but I propose no such heresy. I point out that an assumption of long standing is just a conjecture and that it is possible to offer a much more reasonable explanation of the facts.

With one incidental speculation on a collateral issue, I shall bring this discussion to a close. A checking of the relative length of roles suggested to me that the poet tried to insure that Jaques would be a principal

¹ See Quiller-Couch and Wilson, *As You Like It*, pp. 93-108.

character. His exposition dominates one scene and he appears in seven more. Orlando is present in only nine. Professor Baldwin lists 330 lines for Orlando and 230 for Jaques.¹ Since Orlando's speeches are usually short, as against long ones for Jaques, the latter's role was probably better at holding the attention of the audience, thus counterbalancing the fact that Orlando is related to the plot and on stage longer. This leads to a plausible explanation for the whole process. Suppose that after the play was first drafted² it became evident that Richard Burbage was no longer youthful enough to be convincing in the role of the adolescent Orlando, and the part was given to some younger man.³ Should the takings be allowed to fall off because of Burbage's absence from the stage? If the poet were asked to put Burbage back into the play, the results I have pointed out would follow naturally. The added part must fit a mature man; it must be a major role in its effect on the audience; it must be unrelated to the plot if it is to be done easily. The tragicomic part of Duke Senior, for example, could not be developed into a major one without a complete rewriting of the play. Perhaps it was thus that an irrelevant part was magnified by good theatrical devices and 'dubbed in' with fake motivation and pretended relevance. After all, maybe we owe the invention of the immortal Jaques primarily to Burbage's girth or even to his beard.⁴

JOHN WILCOX.

DETROIT.

MARY SHELLEY AND PROSPER MÉRIMÉE

Mérimée met Mary Shelley in Paris in 1828. They corresponded with one another for several years, but so far none of their letters has been published.

¹ T. W. Baldwin, *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1927). See tables inserted after p. 227.

² No evidence appears in the Jaques role to show whether it was years after or as soon as the play was ready for rehearsal. It is not necessary to my position to take sides in Professor Wilson's theory of a writing about 1593 with a revision toward 1600.

³ Burbage's age is not definitely established. Professor Baldwin, *ibid.* pp. 236-40, conjectures that he was born in 1573. He shows that Burbage usually played parts that either fitted his true age or called for a make-up to simulate a greater. He regularly allots him mature roles after 1603. There seems to be no good reason why Burbage could not have taken a part second in length. Professor Baldwin assigns him to the role of Claudio in *Much Ado* with 299 lines, and Pope to Benedict with 485.

⁴ I see no reason why the facts of interpolation might not be explained in other ways. For example, 'the satiric movement, which after 1599 began to capture English comedy' (Oscar James Campbell, 'Jaques', *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 8 (Oct. 1935), p. 102) may have caused the Shakespearean players to urge the interpolation. What is there to preclude the idea that this might have happened later than 1600, later even than the conventional date of *The Malcontent*?

There is, of course, no conflict between my suggestion and Professor Campbell's study. He deals with the subject matter of the Jaques role and I with the manner of its injection into the play.

In 1829, Mérimée sent a copy of *La Guzla* to his English friend, Sutton Sharpe, with instructions that it be delivered personally to Mary Shelley.¹ Gustave Planche maintains, in his *Portraits Littéraires*, that 'Plusieurs pièces de *La Guzla* ont été versifiées par Madame Shelley, presque sans altération'.² I have attempted to find these translations, but without success.

Mrs Julian Marshall apparently saw letters which Mérimée had written to Mary Shelley.³ It is to be hoped that, some day, they will be found and published.

Here are two of Mary Shelley's letters which I have come upon quite by accident. The original of the first is to be found in the archives of the Jacquemont family; M. Maurice Parturier, the scholar to whom all admirers of Mérimée owe so much, very graciously presented me with a copy of it. The original of the second is in the Requier Collection (No. 9243), Bibliothèque et Musée Calvet d'Avignon.

To Victor Jacquemont

Hastings ce 27 juin [1828]

Monsieur,

Je vous donne beaucoup de la peine, j'en suis très fâchée. Décachetez la lettre de Mme Douglas qui contienne un objet—faites le même de la lettre de Prosper.⁴ Si vous pouviez faire passer les simples lettres sans couper les sceaux j'en serai charmée—sinon—il faut se soumettre aux stupides règles—coupez les et cachez avant de les remettre. Je portai bien des lettres même en mes mâles, cachetées à la France, il y avait mêmes des grosses, qui contenaient des brochures et on les permettait à passer sans mot—on ne visite pas les mâles surtout d'Angleterre.

Je reçoive à l'instant une lettre de Mérimée qui demande réponse veuillez vous charger encore de celle-ci. Son livre arriva hier.⁵ Je ne fais que le commencer.

Adieu Monsieur—encore bon voyage—encore portez vous bien. Retournez sauf à vos amis. Saluez les miens à Paris.

M. S[HELLEY]

The second letter is a reply to something which must have resembled a proposal; it was, in all probability, addressed to Mérimée, because in an unpublished letter, now in the possession of M. Maurice Parturier, Mérimée asked his friend Requier if he had received one of Mary Shelley's autographs from him (Requier was an enthusiastic collector).

¹ Cf. *Mercure de France*, 1^{er} avril, 1912, p. 490.

² *Portraits Littéraires* (2 vols., Paris, 1853), I, 208.

³ *Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley* (London, 1889), II, 305. Cf. as well Henri Peyre, *Shelley et La France*, p. 136 and note.

⁴ Victor Jacquemont was in London making preparations for his journey to India. He left a list of the people with whom he associated in England which has made it possible to identify the writer of this letter. As Jacquemont was returning to Paris, Mary Shelley sent him a bundle of letters with a request that he deliver them to the addressees—not an uncommon practice in those days of prohibitive postal rates.

⁵ *La Jacquerie*.

[To Prosper Mérimée?]

C'est parceque je ne suis pas coquette que je vous rends votre lettre. Je ne voudrais pas garder l'expression des sentiments dont vous pourriez vous repentir apres—ni le temoignage de ce que vous paraîtra (il se peut) en reflechissant, une faiblesse.

Vous demandez mon amitié—Elle est à vous. Toujours je serai votre amie, si toujours vous le desirez—si toujours (pardonnez ce façon de parler à une femme, non pas coquette mais fière) vous vous en montreriez digne. Je vous ecrirai—J'espere vous revoir à Paris—à Londres—Faites moi part de vos esperances, vos succes, votre bonheur ou si cela doit etre, de vos malheurs—vous trouverez en moi une amie simpatissante—compatisante—vrai.

Je pars lundi. Je dois donner demain à mon amie comme le dernier de mon sejour à Paris. Je suis fâchée que vous ne pourriez rester toute la soirée chez Mme Garnett. Mais je vous y verrai et encore je vous assurerai de mon amitie.

Samedi soir

[No signature]

In copying these letters I have made no corrections, but have respected Mary Shelley's *orthographe fantaisiste*.

DENNIS M. HEALY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA.

A NOTE ON THE 'CENT NOUVELLES NOUVELLES'

Although no final solution regarding the author of this famous collection of 'histoires graveleuses' has yet been found, nearly all the names of the men, who are supposed to have told these tales at the court of Philip the Good, have been successfully identified.¹

The *nouvelles* 59, 60, 61 and 89 have, as their supposed 'conteur', a person who is curtly described as 'Poncelet'. Who was Poncelet?

Wright, in his edition of this work,² is unable to offer any clue as to his identity:

Ce nom de Poncellet et Poncelet, mis en tête de cette nouvelle et des deux suivantes, ne se trouve dans aucun des documents contemporains.³

M. Champion, however, does not accept this view and proceeds to identify the narrator of these four tales with the 'pauvre vallet clergant, nommé Poncelet' who, in 1461, was forced to dine with Jehan Coustain, the would-be poisoner of Charles, Count of Charolais.⁴

Of the thirty-five odd names that are prefixed to the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, the majority are either those of important members of the Burgundian aristocracy, or those of the 'gentilshommes de la chambre de monseigneur'. It is difficult, therefore, to see how such a 'pauvre vallet clergant' can possibly figure among this select body.

¹ V. Pierre Champion, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, Paris, Droz, 1928, 3 vols.

² Thomas Wright, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, Bibl. Elzévir., Paris, 1858, 2 vols.

³ Op cit., II, 264.

⁴ Op. cit., I, p. xxv, quoting Chastellain, IV, 259.

It would seem then more plausible for Poncelet to have been none other than Jean de Ponceau du Poncelet who, on 16 of September 1458, was appointed by Philip the Good to the position of 'valet de chambre' left vacant by the death of the poet Michault Taillevent:

Monseigneur le duc retint, le seizieme jour de septembre an LVIII, Jehan de Ponceau du Poncelet, en son vivant varlet de chambre et rhetoricien, ou lieu de feu Michault de Taillevent, aux gaiges de six solz par jour.¹

Jean du Poncelet was thus in attendance at the court of Burgundy at the very time when the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* were being compiled. As 'valet de chambre', he belonged to the Duke's most intimate circle. Moreover, he was a proved 'rhetoricien', worthy to succeed no less a person than the author of the *Passetemps Michault* and the Duke's official 'joueur de farces' for over thirty years.

JOHN H. WATKINS.

BANGOR.

THE MACROCOSMOS-SIGN IN GOETHE'S 'FAUST' AND HERDER'S MYSTIC HEXAGON

The connexion between the scene in *Faust* where the sign of the macrocosmos is contemplated and Herder's *Älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* has been more than once pointed out.² Recent editors, however, devote surprisingly little attention to it, even though it is more than probable that Herder's work provided Goethe with the conception of the symbol. A general Swedenborgian schematic plan of the universe has been suggested as being what Goethe had in mind.³ Yet while it is not assumed that Goethe did *not* have Swedenborg in mind, it seems nevertheless more reasonable to suppose that he derived much of his conception from the author and the work to which he stood particularly close. He was constantly in the company of Herder at the very time the draft of the *Älteste Urkunde*—the *Archäologie des Morgenlandes*—was coming into being.⁴ We cannot, of course, know for certain what definite sign, if any at all, Goethe really intended. But there can be little doubt that its attributes were those possessed by Herder's hexagon.

¹ Note signed by Philip's secretary, Loys Dommessent, and quoted by Champion, *Histoire poétique du XVe siècle*, Paris, 1923, I, 289.

² Cf. W. Scherer, *Aus Goethes Frühzeit*, Strassburg, 1879, pp. 71 ff.; and especially K. Burdach, 'Faust und Moses', *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1912, passim—a work still insufficiently appreciated in this country, and one to which I am much indebted; G. Jacoby, *Herder als Faust*, Leipzig, 1911 (valuable, if somewhat exaggerated).

³ M. Morris, *Der junge Goethe*, VI, Leipzig, 1912, 534; R. Petsch, *Faust* (Festausgabe), Leipzig, 1926, p. 638.

⁴ Cf. Haym, *Herder*, I, Berlin, 1880, p. 400.

It can hardly be by accident that, in outline at least, this figure suggests the double-triangle or hexagram which is well known as the sign of the macrocosmos in masonry and elsewhere.¹ Herder could have come upon it when he became a mason in 1766. He was, moreover, interested in hieroglyphics as the earliest form of writing; and he knew, from Worm, Resenius and Mallet, that runes, the gift of Odin to the Scandinavians (and which were supposed to have an Oriental origin), had symbolical or magical properties. His studies in Scandinavian mythology accorded closely with his interest in Hebrew archaeology. He was anxious, in his search for the origins of things, to find a sign that was not symbolical merely, but actually naturalistic; Astruc, in a work² which Herder studied very closely, though not agreeing with it, declared that hieroglyphs were first naturalistic and then symbolical. He thought he found it in the hexagon, which he said was formed after the human figure³—‘das Ebenbild der Gottheit’. That the human form itself should thus symbolize the cosmos is a thought that links Herder closely with the medieval idea of the microcosmos. Of this hexagon the hexagram and other cabbalistic variations could very well have been looked upon by Herder as developments. We know, too, that the actual subject-matter of *Genesis*, with the stages of Creation balancing each other so well, determined this hexagonal shape he had in mind. It may not be too far-fetched, as well, to conjecture that the ‘mystic hexagon’ of Pascal, whom we know Herder admired intensely, played its part in the growth of Herder’s conception.⁴

This hieroglyph, declares Herder, contains God’s own explanation of His Creation. It is a mnemonic, its seven points (i.e. six exterior and one central point) indicating the seven Creation days. (It is unnecessary to go into the question of the mystic number 7!) It is the oldest symbol of the cosmos and was communicated by God Himself. In it are contained the beginnings of all knowledge and all religion. It presents eternally valid truths and is therefore of more value than all the speculations of philosophers. It is, in Faust’s sense, a substitute for academic learning. Herder can scarcely have failed to have shown his discovery to his young

¹ It is conceived as the great world-sign of the Creator, the Grand Architect, also of man, the image of God. Thorndike, *History of Magic*, II, 288, states that the hexagon was considered as part of the seal of the living God.

² J. Astruc, *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paraît que Moïse s’est servi pour composer le livre de Genèse*, Bruxelles, 1753, pp. 292 ff. (cf. also Herder, *Werke*, hrsg. v. B. Suphan, VI, 331 n.).

³ *Werke*, ed. Suphan, VI, 44 and 291 ff.

⁴ The opposite sides of a hexagon inscribed in a conic section intersect in three points which are collinear. Pascal played an important role in the growth of Herder’s theological writings of the Buckeburg years, as I hope to be able to show elsewhere. The *Pensées*, as his wife tells us, were constantly on Herder’s desk (cf. *Werke*, Suphan, VI, 516).

friend, at Strassburg or later, and Faust's words allude to no one more clearly than to him.

Nostradamus would thus be a 'Deckname' for Herder, rather than for Swedenborg. If our supposition is correct, the explanation is at once apparent why the spirit of the macrocosmos-sign is not conjured up, as the earth-spirit is. For it would be God Himself—'War es ein Gott, der diese Zeichen schrieb?' cries Faust. This deficiency is hidden by Faust's anger at being able only to contemplate and not to feel and grasp the infinite universe,¹ and his lighting upon another symbol in Nostradamus's book. Faust needs only to look at this macrocosmos-sign in the proper frame of mind in order to see—if merely from afar—the fullness and harmony of the universe.²

'Jetzt erst erkenn' ich, was der Weise spricht':

('Der Weise' would in this case clearly be Herder)

"Die Geisterwelt ist nicht verschlossen;
Dein Sinn ist zu, dein Herz ist todt!
Auf, bade, Schuler, unverdrossen
Die ird'sche Brust im Morgenroth!"

The last two lines, moreover, are an amazing verbal reminiscence of the *Älteste Urkunde*, that can scarcely be accidental; and they accord closely with its major theme that the dawn is an ever-recurring symbol of God's self-revelation in Creation's morn, provided it is approached in the appropriate mood.³ The book of Nostradamus (i.e. the *Urkunde*), with its signs, is indeed to accompany Faust as he flees to nature for comfort, and is to attune his mind, no doubt, to nature and make understandable the significance of what he sees.

Finally, can it be accidental that this same mystic figure, in only slightly different form, provided the six-pointed star which is the charge that Goethe chose for his coat of arms?⁴

A. GILLIES.

HULL.

¹ Burdach brings out the importance of this point especially clearly and draws attention to the affinity with Herder's *Plastik*.

² Herder's commentary upon his hexagon, vi, 291 ff., should be closely compared with Faust's observations; more than one passage suggests a significant parallel.

³ 'Komm hinaus, Jungling, aufs freie Feld und merke. Die uralteste herrlichste Offenbarung Gottes erscheint dir jeden Morgen als Thatsache, grosses Werk Gottes in der Natur', vi, 258. It is scarcely necessary to point out how the *crepusculum matutinum* of the 'Christlich Meynender' was thus given a heightened significance.

⁴ *Heraldisch-genealogische Ztschr.*, i, 1871, 38 ff., describes the design. Cf. Goethe's own reference to: 'der herrliche Morgenstern, den ich mir von nun an zum Wappen nehme' in a letter to Carl August of 24 December 1775. The design has been frequently used to adorn editions of Goethe's works.

REVIEWS

Ursachen des Lautwandels. By H. L. KOPPELMANN. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff. 1939. 156 pp. 4.50 Dutch florins.

The causes of phonetic change are still obscure. It may be claimed that any particular modification in a language is an occurrence limited to a determinable period of time and to a definable group of people, that it arises from causes peculiar to itself, and that generalizations are therefore fallacious and illusory. Hermann Osthoff's dictum, just half a century old, on the absolute regularity of sound change, is not infallible: 'Sound laws operate blindly, with a blind necessity.' The legal analogy is infelicitous and there are competent philologists to-day whose attitude towards linguistic happenings is akin to that of a certain distinguished historian to events in general: 'there can be no generalizations, only one safe rule... to recognize in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen.' It would be good to find oneself in this frame of mind before sitting down to enjoy H. L. Koppelman's refreshing treatise, a continuation and development of articles on 'Climate and Language' and 'Race and Language' published recently in *Anthropos* and *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*.

At the outset Koppelman recognizes the validity of the 'auditional theory' as an ever-present (and possibly indispensable) factor in all sound changes. He sees universal human tendencies such as those bringing about consonantal assimilations or vowel shortenings (always more frequent than vowel lengthenings). He also detects individual influences such as slackness of lip-movement (by which $\hat{o} > e$, and $y > i$) and tardiness in the adjustment of the soft palate (by which vowels are nasalized in the proximity of nasal consonants). Nevertheless, he is convinced that there are other stronger forces at work and, after considering the claims of mere chance, he discusses four of these at length: physiological influence of climate and other geographical circumstances; inherited articulatory basis; acceptance of divergences by (conscious or unconscious) preference; and consideration for the person or persons addressed. In assessing these factors he moves on sure ground and he has much of interest to say about the applicability of the 'substratum hypothesis' to the languages of Western Europe. Jacob J. A. van Ginneken's theories of biological heredity are subjected to some shrewd criticism. Decadence in the biological sense may not be applied to language. The analogy of maturity, old age and death is fundamentally false. Language is the common function and the shared possession of the ageless human society that speaks it. The chief justification for Koppelman's treatise lies in his growing conviction that more attention should be paid to what he calls the 'acceptance theory', according to which a community comes to adopt an individual speech modification because

it is, a pleasing one. Every speaker is a listener too. He can and does deliberately select sounds that he likes to hear. These sounds may not be more euphonic or more aesthetic (if 'aesthetic' may ever be applied to language), nor need they conform to the speaker's 'articulatory basis'. He will imitate not blindly but selectively. From casual variations he will select one that pleases him. If that slightest of modifications finds general acceptance by a group of people because in some way it corresponds to prevailing fashion or taste or vogue, a sound change may develop. An originally individual variation may thus be *accepted* by a speech community. But for this to happen the new sound *must be pleasing*. That is the necessary condition.

For his 'acceptance theory', the author admits, there can be no final proof in the scientific sense but its operation can be illustrated. His own illustrations are apposite, especially his comparisons of the features of Dutch and German, German and French, German and Dutch and Javanese, Latin and Italian. Abundant support for his thesis might certainly have been found among the more gradually diverging Slavonic languages and dialects. More than once, in weighing the author's arguments, one recalls Louis H. Gray's observation in his recent *Foundations of Language* that 'we shall scarcely go far wrong if we say that one of the most urgent needs of the science of language to-day is a thorough treatment of linguistic psychology'. Certainly Koppelman's book will help to strengthen the generally accepted view that the causes of sound change must be sought primarily in the psychological and social characters of language and that biological analogies, however plausible, are misleading.

SIMEON POTTER.

SOUTHAMPTON.

The English Hundred-Names: the South-Eastern Counties. By O. S. ANDERSON. (*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 37. 1.) Lund: Gleerup; Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 1939. xvi + 242 pp. 10 kr.

This is the third and final volume of Dr Olof S. Anderson's survey of the English Hundreds undertaken at the instigation of Professor Eilert Ekwall some ten years ago. It is concerned with that part of the kingdom which has received the most attention from the English Place-Name Society. Of the eight counties here surveyed, no fewer than six (Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Sussex, Surrey, Essex and Hertfordshire, and in that order) have been included in the Society's publications between the years 1925 and 1938, whereas the other two, Middlesex and Kent, have also been studied fairly recently, Middlesex by J. E. B. Gover in 1922 and Kent by J. K. Wallenberg in 1931-34. All these books have naturally included the elucidation of hundred-names in their plan, but Dr Anderson is on the whole justified in asserting that his specialized study is more complete and more informative than any other hitherto

made. He has spared no pains to present fully and clearly all the available evidence derived from manuscript sources as well as from printed documents. He has done his best to locate the sites where the meetings of the hundred-court were held, studying the relevant topographical literature, visiting the sites for himself, and noting significant features. It is improbable that any new material will be discovered of such a nature as to affect his main conclusions. To this extent therefore, as ambitiously stated in the Preface, his work 'may have some claim to finality'.

The investigation of the hundred-names of these eight south-eastern counties, the third part proper of the whole survey, occupies little more than one-half of the book now under review. The second portion comprises a summary of all the hundred-names of England arranged in categories according to meaning, and alphabetical lists of all descriptive elements and personal names occurring in hundred-names. An essay on the origin of the hundredal division is followed by an excursus on the Cornish hundreds or 'shires'. Besides a complete table of contents there is a comprehensive index to the names appearing in all three volumes. Historians and philologists are thus provided with every facility for finding their way as quickly as possible to the facts they seek.

Whenever Dr Anderson differs from the editors of the English Place-Name Survey, he is careful to state concisely his reasons for so doing. So, for example, his interpretation of Tring (with Ekwall) as "tree-covered slope", O.E. *tréo hangra*, and not as 'third part' or 'riding', O.N. *þriðjungr*, as suggested rather than established by the editors of *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire* (E.P.N.S. xviii, 1938), is fairly convincing though not quite conclusive. But the interpretation is not left to stand alone: it is strengthened by a formidable array of fact and argument. Here, as elsewhere, Dr Anderson's phonology is utterly sound. His deliberate preference, however, for descriptive words rather than personal names as first elements in compounds has resulted in a long series of divergences and these are in a somewhat different category. So in his study of Buckinghamshire he would prefer **yxen* (assumed by-form of *oxan*) 'oxen' to *Hicc* in Ixhill, *burna* 'stream' to *Byrna* in Burnham, **murs* (related to M.H.G. *mursch*) 'decayed' to *Myrsa* in Mursley, *earn* 'eagle' or *ear* 'gravel' to *Eorla* in Yardley (E.P.N.S. ii, 1925). He would prefer to derive Uttlesford in Essex from *wudu* + *lās* + *ford* 'the ford in (or leading to) the wood pasture' rather than from *Udel*'s ford (E.P.N.S. xii, 1935); and Wyndham and Buttinghill in Sussex from **winda* (related to *gewind*) 'bend' or 'winding path' and *butt* as of 'a well-marked spur of hill running up from the downs' rather than from the names *Winda* and *Butta* (E.P.N.S. vi-vii, 1929-30). Now *Hicc*, *Byrna*, *Myrsa*, *Eorla*, *Udel*, *Winda* and *Butta* are all unrecorded personal names, not found in independent use, and they are therefore duly asterisked in the lists of personal names appended to the county surveys. But even though all these names had been appellations in common use the issue would still remain in most

cases an open one, in spite of all that has been written on the subject during the last twenty years. Only when onomatology has caught up with toponymy may a greater degree of certainty be attainable. The recent investigations in these related spheres by Fransson, von Feilitzen, Tengvik and Tengstrand are very promising, and it is interesting to observe how they tend to become more and more syntactic and semantic rather than purely etymological.

It may be noted that the numerous *i*-spellings in the early forms of Hinckford Hundred in Essex (p. 43) do not altogether preclude a derivation from the personal name *Heðin*, for both *Heðinn* and *Hrðinn* are possible in West Norse. Risbridge in Suffolk may well 'denote a brushwood causeway' (p. 177) and elsewhere too O.E. *brycg* may signify a natural ford or one artificially strengthened. The *bricg* across the Pante, held by Wulfstan son of Ceola at Maldon in A.D. 991, was manifestly the same as the *ford* mentioned a little later in the famous commemorative poem. Thus too the variant suffix may be accounted for in the interesting Hampshire hundred-name Redbridge, *hrēodford* 'reedy ford' (p. 176) alternating with *hrēodbrycg*. The change from *-ford* to *-brycg*, first recorded in a charter of the year 956, does not in itself prove that a bridge had superseded the reedy ford across the River Test by that date. It is not likely that pp. *coppede* in Copthorne, Surrey, means 'peaked' (p. 194), although this may be its signification elsewhere. Copthorne is obviously 'pollarded or clipped thorn-bush', a bush with its *copp* removed.

The author is to be heartily congratulated upon the completion of this competent piece of work which will stand with Ekwall's *English River-Names* as a constant companion to the county monographs of the English Place-Name Society as they appear year by year. It will be indispensable to every serious student of place-nomenclature.

SIMEON POTTER.

SOUTHAMPTON.

The Book of Margery Kempe. The Text from the Unique MS. owned by Colonel Butler-Bowdon. Vol. I. Edited by SANFORD BROWN MEECH and HOPE EMILY ALLEN. (Early English Text Society, 212.) London: Oxford University Press. lxviii+441 pp. 20s.

The discovery of the manuscript of the *Book of Margery Kempe* in 1934 ranks as one of the most exciting moments in recent Middle English scholarship. Until then we had known Margery only from the few extracts first 'enprynted in flete-strete by Wynkyn de worde' about 1501. Since 1934, many people have met her in a modernized version; now we have her very self: over-emotional, neurotic, enthusiastically devout, breathless in speech (the words of her autobiography pour out like a torrent)—'this creature' was often troublesome, no doubt, but most certainly never dull; and certainly also, it appears, a genuine mystic, if a minor one, as Miss Allen calls her. There seems no reason to suspect

Margery's veracity in speaking of her spiritual experiences; she can hardly have invented them: imagination does not seem to have been a very strong feature in her mental 'make-up'; and they are individual enough to distinguish them from the experiences of the continental women mystics, who, Miss Allen thinks, so strongly influenced Margery's 'suggestibility' even though she knew them only by hearsay—through reports of and gossip about them which came to her through the foreign colonies in Lynn and Norwich.

We must be grateful that the editing of the *Book* is in the right hands. Miss Allen's knowledge of medieval mysticism, and Professor Meech's wide acquaintance with Middle English (and especially Later Middle English) documents and dialects, much of it gained through his work on the *Middle English Dictionary*, assures us that the edition will give us what we need. The present volume—for Volume II is still to come—is largely the work of Professor Meech, who has prepared the text with great care, has provided a full and interesting analysis of the language (*was* it necessary to use the word 'Southumbrian'?), comparing it with other documents from the same period and area, and has added a good account of the manuscript, a glossary, many notes, and three appendices, one of which gives extracts from documents in which references are made to persons mentioned in the *Book*.

Miss Allen gives us plentiful notes on the mystical element, an appendix on Dominican women mystics in Germany and another on Blessed Dorothea of Prussia, and also a preliminary note on Margery herself and the factors, English and foreign, which helped to form her mysticism. In Volume II she will write fully on these subjects, and in addition will print extracts from Middle English translations of continental works concerned with women mystics. We shall await this volume with great interest, particularly for Miss Allen's further analysis of the character and spirituality of this puzzling and fascinating autobiographer.

Poor Margery! But though she suffered much in her stormy life she also learned much, and helped many souls. *Requiescat in pace.*

MARY S. SERJEANTSON.

FOWNHOPE, NR. HEREFORD.

The 'Bad' Quarto of Hamlet. By GEORGE IAN DUTHIE. Cambridge: University Press. 1941. xi+279 pp. 10s.

This book forms the sixth volume in the series 'Shakespeare Problems', edited by A. W. Pollard and J. Dover Wilson, and it is worthy of its place. In particular, it follows up Professor Alexander's work in Volume III of the series, upon *Henry VI* and *Richard III*, arriving at conclusions respecting the 1603 Quarto of *Hamlet* which make it a parallel to these earlier instances of 'Bad' Quartos.

Dr Duthie goes his own way, and arrives at his own conclusions. He dedicates his work to Professor Dover Wilson, to whom he expresses his

gratitude for help and encouragement, but opposes his theories to those of his master despite all the authority they carry. So also he is extremely guarded in his attitude towards Professor Alexander's views upon *The Taming of a Shrew*.

His work is methodical, deliberate and thoroughgoing, and his treatment of his material is firm. It would seem that Dr Duthie read all that has been written with any bearing upon his subject, and refused to be daunted. But his industry has in no way blunted his critical judgement, or reduced him to a 'que sais-je?' He arrives at the firm conviction that *Hamlet* Q 1 is a memorial reconstruction dependent upon the complete text.

Dr Duthie opens with a long introductory chapter in which he surveys the field within which he has isolated his problem, setting forth these developments in Shakespearian scholarship which furnish premises and criteria for his study, a valuable chapter upon this new science of 'Good' and 'Bad' Quartos.

He then proceeds, of necessity, to consider the tangled question of the history of the play and of its putative father the *Ur-Hamlet*, accepting both the evidence for the existence of such a play, in which belief most will go with him, and for Kyd's authorship, which seems less convincing. Chapter II takes us on from 1589 to Harvey's reference in his copy of the 1598 Chaucer to 'Shakespeares...tragedy of Hamlet', and justly concludes upon a Shakespearian *Hamlet* in existence between 1598 and 1601, i.e. before the publication of Q 1 in 1603. The next chapter shows the effect of this conception of an *Ur-Hamlet* upon critical theories concerning the text of Q 1, and sets out the rival theories. The weight of authority leans heavily towards interpreting it as a first and early revision by Shakespeare of the *Ur-Hamlet*, and therefore as a first draft of the final *Hamlet* of Q 2.

Having thus cleared the ground, Dr Duthie proceeds in the fourth chapter and onwards to consider a series of aspects of the text in the light of the theory that Q 1 derives from Q 2, a theory for which I myself have the strongest inclination, and therefore entered upon the reading of his exposition in a receptive frame of mind. It has always seemed to me beyond belief that the blank verse which appears in Q 1 alone was Shakespearian blank verse, at any point in his known career. It is certainly not the blank verse of his known early plays. And it is difficult to conceive such a vast change from the incompetence and flatness of Q 1 to the mastery of Q 2 within a brief period.

Dr Duthie, very naturally, begins with this striking indication of the probable truth, and is able to suggest the actual processes of memory, confusion and padding, which in his view may be traced in specific passages of this blank verse when analysed with sufficient skill and care. This is the crucial part of the demonstration, and it can hardly be doubted that Dr Duthie has made out a very strong case, with ingenuity but rarely with over-ingenuity (e.g. perhaps in the notion of rain and praying out of

doors as against tears in Sc. x, 1-2, p. 110). With respect to the inverted commas in Sc. iii, too much has been made of them, as Dr Duthie suggests (p. 116), in their very slight relation to Q 2. They could well be suggested to either the reporter or the printer by the words 'precepts' and 'letters' which immediately precede the two passages respectively, it seems to me.

We then proceed to further conclusions upon which it may be more difficult for Dr Duthie to obtain assent. He accepts the main theory of Dr H. D. Gray in his *M.L.R.* article of 1915, that the actor of Marcellus was the responsible pirate-reporter, a parallel instance to Dr Greg's Host-actor in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, but makes him the unique agent. And I have some difficulty with his treatment of the problems of abridgement, revision and interpolation in the sixth chapter. The 'bibliographical links' between Q 1 and Q 2 are not all easy to dispose of. The seventh chapter deals with a series of separate problems with bearings upon the history of the text, quotations from Kyd, Hamlet's voyage, the character of Gertrude, the place of the 'Nunnery-Scene', the name 'Corambis', Hamlet's age, and Hamlet's advice to the Players. As Dr Duthie remarks, it is too much to expect that the text of *Hamlet* Q 1 should leave us without insoluble problems. But nothing in a fair treatment of these problems is opposed to his main theory.

There may not seem to be equal satisfaction in his treatment of the *Bestrafte Brudermord* in the eighth chapter. Dr Duthie conceives this German version as arising in much the same way as Q 1, but put together by a different set of actors who, however, have among their number some who were in the Q 1 group and contributed elements from that version. And, somehow, some of them also introduced elements from the *Ur-Hamlet*. This does not appear to me a conceivable history. Incidentally, on what authority can Dr Duthie describe 'a journey overseas' as 'in the nature of a last resort' by actors who 'have failed in the English provinces'? (pp. 258-9). After all, the first certain knowledge we have of a German-acted *Hamlet* dates from 1626, when Q 1, Q 2 and F 1 were all available in print. And, in general, not enough account is taken in this book as elsewhere of the use of printed quartos as prompt-copies or material for prompt-copies by touring companies of actors. Could we not begin consideration of the *Brudermord* from a possible *Ur-Hamlet-Brudermord* in the late fifteen-eighties, replaced or modified and revised after 1603 and again after 1604 and 1623? And it would be difficult to find a less authentic document than the *Brudermord* as representing the text of an actual performance within the period in question. 'The question', as Dr Greg writes in his Foreword, 'bristles with difficulties', however manfully Dr Duthie has wrestled with it.

I have checked Dr Duthie's citations, from the invaluable Huntington collotype reproductions, and he is meticulously accurate. I observe only a colon read for a semi-colon in Q 1, l. 68 (p. 113) which may be due to use of the Griggs lithograph. Incidentally, the only misprint I have noticed is 'reminscence', p. 244, n. 1.

This is an important book, at all events, and it ought to be read and studied by all who take a scholar's interest in problems which are of real concern, in the problem, above all, which might be defined as 'What we mean by *Hamlet*'.

C. J. Sisson.

LONDON.

Milton and his Modern Critics. By LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH. London: Oxford University Press. 1940. 73 pp. 3s. 6d.

Mr Pearsall Smith is very angry with the recent Americo-Cambridge school of critics who dislike and decry Milton and his poetry. He gives an entertaining and, though sketchy, a useful account of the movement; but he overlooks such continental detractors of Milton as Liljegren and Saurat, giving his readers to understand that 'except a certain German named Mutschmann' none but these Americo-Cambridge critics have dared to attack Milton. It all began, he tells us, about 1920 with 'two adventurous young Americans from the Middle and Farther West', Mr Ezra Pound and Mr T. S. Eliot. Among the first English writers to join in their attack on Milton's poetic reputation were Mr Middleton Murry ('there is death in Milton') and Mr Herbert Read. Mr Eliot, Mr Murry and Mr Read were all elected Clarke Lecturers at Cambridge, and Mr Eliot to an honorary fellowship at Magdalene; so the anti-Miltonists established themselves in Milton's own university, and some of the chief academic critics there—Dr Leavis, Dr Tillyard and Professor Dobrée—soon joined in their game of 'revalung' Milton. 'Before long certain professors of English literature began to tremble in their academic chairs.' (As Mr Smith is not elsewhere afraid of naming names he might have told us who these jittery professors are.) Mr Smith finds consolation and relief for his feeling against this Cambridge school in the belief that 'Milton disliked Cambridge as much as Cambridge disliked Milton', whereas he loved Oxford. Perhaps Milton's sentiments were not as simple as this, but Mr Smith leaves us in no doubt concerning his own: 'here I find myself railing at Cambridge as I was wont, when a crude undergraduate in my twenties.'

The writer concludes with a direct defence of Milton's poetry. He defends and praises finely; but is it the right occasion? Does Milton's poetry ask to be defended against criticism which is for the most part, in Mr Smith's opinion, silly and perverse? To quote it seems the best retort. Mr Smith has done Milton's cause a service by sketching the story of this campaign against him, but one wishes he had concentrated on giving a fuller account. Many who can sympathize with his indignation at the assault think that Milton can take it.

B. A. WRIGHT.

SOUTHAMPTON.

The Critical Works of John Dennis. Edited by EDWARD NILES HOOKER. Vol. 1, 1692-1711. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1939. x+540 pp. 22s. 6d.

Mr Hooker has completed half the august task of editing the whole of Dennis's critical writings, editing them with annotations, textual apparatus and with a promised essay of assessment. This is tribute indeed when we recall how few are the critics who have been accorded such honours. Where is our total reprint of Dryden's criticism, or of Johnson's? Yet we do not feel that Dennis has been raised above his due level—rather we wish that the good work of Ker and of G. Birkbeck Hill and Raleigh had been completed. Dennis lacks the autobiographical candour and authority, the buoyant felicity, of Dryden and he lacks the ripe finality of Johnson, but he is a closer arguer than either. Dryden's criticism represents a progress but a haphazard one, the progress of an athlete canoeing in and out of a sunny archipelago. Johnson had his system chiselled on the wall of his mind and his verdict on a work of literature was the result of measuring that work against the system. But he did not state what the system was, much less argue its rightness. If this statement and argument were not altogether necessary, it was because Dennis had done much of them for him already. The ideas that poetry should surprise and yet be natural (p. 1), that 'nothing but Truth can be long esteem'd' (p. 328), that 'the same Fate... has attended all who have wrote Epick Poems ever since the time of *Homer*; and that is to be a Copyist instead of an Original' (p. 333)—all these ideas and many more are part of Dennis's vigorously argued system before they are part of Johnson's assumed one. Dennis makes his nice observations here and there: for instance, 'We never speak, for so much as a Minute together, without different Inflexions of Voice'; but his unique quality is represented by the passage of which that observation forms a part; a passage which begins as follows:

Poetical enthusiasm, is a Passion guided by Judgment, whose Cause is not comprehended by us. That it is a Passion, is plain, because it moves. That the Cause is not comprehended, is self-evident. That it ought to be guided by Judgment, is indubitable. For otherwise it would be Madness, and not Poetical Passion. But now let us inquire, what the Cause of Poetical Enthusiasm is, that has been hitherto not comprehended by us. That Enthusiasm moves, is plain to Sense; why then it mov'd the Writer: But if it mov'd the Writer, it mov'd him while he was thinking. Now what can move a Man while he is thinking, but the Thoughts that are in his Mind? In short, Enthusiasm, as well as ordinary Passions, must proceed from the Thoughts, as the Passions of all reasonable Creatures must certainly do; but the Reason why we know not the Causes of Enthusiastick, as well as ordinary Passions, is, because we are not so us'd to them, and because they proceed from Thoughts, that latently, and unobserv'd by us, carry Passion along with them. Here it would be no hard matter to prove, that most of our Thoughts, are naturally attended with some sort, and some degree of Passion. And 'tis the Expression of this Passion, which gives so much Pleasure, both in Conversation, and in Human Authors (p. 217).

We cannot allow that all the steps in such arguments are equally solid, but a critic who sees that Locke's methods can be applied to other than

epistemological matters makes the processes both of writing literature and reading it more comprehensible.

GEOFFREY TILLOTSON.

LONDON.

Windows of the Morning. A Critical Study of William Blake's Poetical Sketches, 1783. By MARGARET RUTH LOWERY. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1940. xii + 250 pp. 18s. 6d.

Miss Lowery's book is a quiet and collected study of Blake's earliest poems from a variety of angles. The interesting biographical and bibliographical matters are carefully considered (though, in view of the context, it seems doubtful that it was Blake's intention not to correct Midas' lengthened 'cares' to 'ears' (p. 38); and the copy of the *Poetical Sketches* referred to at pp. 37 and 218 is not in the library of the University of London, but in that of University College, London). And though Miss Lowery says little about Blake's metrical practices, she says a good deal about the verbal use to which he put his reading, establishing beyond question the influence of, for instance, Thomson and finding reasons for stating such original conclusions as the following:

When one reads the *Songs of Innocence and Experience*, one becomes aware that perplexing questions concerned with marriage are involved in the symbolism of the poems... It has never before been observed that as early as the *Poetical Sketches* Blake's thought was so much upon the same topic (pp. 97 f.).

Although it is clear that Blake knew both *Liberty* and *The Seasons*, there is no indication whatever that he knew *The Castle of Indolence* (p. 155).

... the greater influence of Ossian upon Blake came through Chatterton, although there was some direct use made of Ossianic matter (p. 175).

Students who might themselves have examined the *Sketches* with Miss Lowery's intentions would not readily have collected her particular store of 'parallels'. But it is equally true that they would have lighted on parallels which have escaped Miss Lowery—I have noted a few striking omissions, striking that is to me, from Shakespeare, Milton and Pope. The latter omission is serious. There is no single reference to Pope in the whole book. And yet on p. 183 there are two of Blake's phrases whose most obvious, though by no means single, source is the *Rape of the Lock*. The phrases in question—'scattering death' and 'lean on their spears'—are, it is true, found also in Ossian, but the fact that the only source which Miss Lowery can suggest for the latter phrase, common in the epics, is II Samuel i. 6, indicates a limitation of reading which seriously mars the general usefulness of the book: when Miss Lowery speaks of the eighteenth century she means, with the exception of Thomson, 1750–83. (Blake speaks of commerce in *King Edward the Third* and parallels from Thomson are cited; but what poet of 1700–50 does *not* speak of commerce? Blake's 'source' here is surely the general and casing air.)

Miss Lowery is most concerned with phrases. She is not so good when it comes to single words, to vocabulary. Blake uses little of what Wordsworth called the gaudy and inane phraseology associated with Pope's *Homer*. But he does use words which were regarded at the time as unsuitable for prose composition and which were consecrated by their existence in respected poems. The existence of many instances of this kind of poetic diction Miss Lowery does not seem to suspect. When Blake, however, is found writing *heroic*, *red*, *emulate*, *dun*, *fervid*, his critic should attempt to revive the connotations which these words had for contemporary writers and readers of poetry.

GEOFFREY TILLOTSON.

LONDON.

Lewis and Clark: Linguistic Pioneers. By E. H. CRISWELL. (*University of Missouri Studies*, xv, No. 2.) Columbia: University of Missouri. 1940. cxi + 102 pp. \$1.25.

In 1803, even before the United States assumed control of the vast Louisiana Territory lying west of the Mississippi River, President Jefferson asked Congress for money to finance an expedition to the Pacific coast. When his request was approved, Jefferson appointed his secretary Meriwether Lewis to head the mission, gave it official status under the War Department, and supervised all the plans closely. The project had long been in Jefferson's mind, and he made elaborate suggestions to insure a detailed study of the unknown region that lay beyond the westernmost pioneer settlements.

Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and several of their colleagues kept voluminous journals, in which they recorded not only the salient events of their travels, but also detailed field notes on climate, mineral resources, and the times of appearance of particular birds, animals, and flowers, as well as careful accounts of the varied topography through which they passed. It is upon the ten published volumes of the journals that Professor Criswell has based his study of the linguistic contributions of the expedition.

Mr Criswell's method is elaborate and thorough, and his results impressive. The book proper is devoted to a lexicon of some two thousand words whose usage in the Lewis and Clark journals adds to the present dictionary information available. This is preceded, however, by a 200-page introduction which is in effect the body of the volume, since it is here that Mr Criswell discusses the processes of word creation, classifies the vocabularies minutely, and develops his important conclusions.

For the most part, he finds, Lewis and Clark followed common habits in bestowing names. Theirs was the task, not only of identifying the familiar but of describing and naming the great variety of new plant and animal life and the strange topography which they encountered. They were not scientists, but Jefferson had imbued them with the scientific spirit, so

that their observations, while those of laymen, are surprisingly thorough and accurate. As one might expect, wherever they could they extended the meaning of familiar terms to include newly encountered phenomena. They borrowed a number of Indian and French words, and translated others. The number of inventions is large, but most of them are descriptive combinations (*shaved prairie, whistling swan, prairie dog*) rather than outright coinages. Mr Criswell has made a careful study of the zoological and botanical vocabularies, and discovers errors occasionally where fancied resemblances led the explorers astray, or where they frankly made hasty guesses.

A classification of the vocabulary reveals 1107 Americanisms, more than half of them previously unrecorded. The journals supply 301 'earliest uses' of words in the *O.E.D.* and give us early nineteenth-century uses of 177 obsolete and archaic words. These figures are significant, especially when one discovers that most of the new combinations and meanings are zoological and botanical terms—descriptive rather than scientific—which have remained in the language. Many of the hitherto unrecorded general terms in the Lewis and Clark vocabulary are whimsical nonce-uses, but here too the addition to present-day English is noteworthy.

Mr Criswell contributed his large body of evidence to the *Dictionary of American English* now being published. But as he himself points out, the issuance of the *D.A.E.* is altering some of the conclusions of his study. The 301 'earliest uses', for example, he had established by comparison with the *O.E.D.* The new *D.A.E.* is, however, finding still earlier citations that reflect American usage prior to Lewis and Clark, 1804-6 (thus *bayou*, *O.E.D.* 1806, *D.A.E.* 1766; *arrowwood*, *O.E.D.* 1829, *D.A.E.* 1709; *calico*, *O.E.D.* 2c, 1841, *D.A.E.* 1779). Mr Criswell's list will be reduced by perhaps one-third by the time the *D.A.E.* is complete, and so will his list of 703 terms hitherto unrecorded in any dictionary. But the importance of Lewis and Clark as linguistic pioneers will not be materially diminished. Indeed, the extent of our indebtedness to the explorers would scarcely have been apparent were it not for Mr Criswell's painstaking study.

CLAUDE M. SIMPSON, JR.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Ballads and Songs, collected by the Missouri Folk-lore Society. Edited by H. M. BELDEN. (*University of Missouri Studies*, xv, i, 1, January 1940.) xviii+530 pp. \$1.25.

The impulse to collect Missouri folk-songs was first felt by Professor Belden at a meeting of the English Club of the University of Missouri. Three years later the Missouri Folk-lore Society was formed, and this collection is the product of its enthusiasm. About a hundred collectors have contributed. There are versions of twenty-nine of Child's ballads,

many of them with their music. These seem to be the common good of American balladry. Am I wrong in believing that the melodies used in America belong to a comparatively few original types, and show much less variety than those recovered in the British islands? It might have been imagined a priori that all British tunes were equally apt to emigrate, but in fact (unless I am mistaken) only a few actually did so, the present variations arising on American soil. The collectors found that the hill country of the Ozarks was not richer in ballads than the plains; that there was no difference as to retentiveness between old and young, men and women; that manuscript collections had been made as much without antiquarian sense as with it; and that little booklets were sometimes sold, but that it was usually easier to make a manuscript copy of a friend's print. In addition to Child's traditional ballads, there were romantic and humorous songs (often of British origin), Irish and American ones, journalistic and homiletic pieces. The French substratum of original settlers has also left a few traces in the repertoire of Missouri. All these live cheek by jowl indiscriminately—a fact that may be overlooked since we are blinded by the prestige accorded to those certified by Child. We are to expect another collection from Mr Vance Randolph, drawn from the Ozark country of Missouri and Arkansas.

The editing is a model of exactitude and of precision in the head-notes. Professor Belden and his collaborators deserve the warmest congratulations. Their bibliographical notes alone are a service of the first importance to ballad-lovers.

One cannot comment on the contents of this rich collection with the fullness it deserves. It is enough to select, almost at random, *The Meeks Family Murder* (pp. 404–12), to show how fruitful it must be. This is one of the few ballads peculiar to Missouri. It refers to a murder on the night of 11 May 1894; the murderers fled, were captured and convicted, but one escaped and only the other was hanged in 1896. It seems that several interrelated ballads were composed on this event. The text of A 1 supposes both to be at large, in A 2 and 3 they are in jail at Carrollton. The B versions are apparently a new attempt to tell the same story, in which the fate of the criminals is not a matter of interest. The ballad-singer is concerned only with the pathetic condition of Nellie Meeks, who had been left for dead, but revived sufficiently to denounce the crime. Version C is put entirely into Nellie's mouth, and is entitled 'Nellie's Lament'. A brother of the murdered man, a certain George Meeks, also devised a ballad to the tune of *Little Nell of Narragansett Bay*, which he printed and sold, 'or at least offered for sale'. He made use of the A version, which is also related to B and C. Two tunes are given (for A 3 and B 3), and these also are interesting as variants which have arisen within so short a time. They have the same time, but differ in key. The likeness of the second and fourth phrases is quite close; the third phrases do not differ much, but from the first phrase they might be classified as unlike. A longer history might conflate the words and the tunes, and so give a semblance of unity

where there was initial diversity, tempting the scholar to attempt to restore an *editio princeps*. Perhaps older ballads have had such multiple origins, though their present general conformity with one plan would not suggest it,

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

Claude Fauchet, sa vie, son œuvre. Documents concernant la vie et les œuvres de Claude Fauchet. Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poésie française. By JANET ESPINER-SCOTT. Paris: Droz. 1938. 3 vols. 450, 291, 150 pp.

The war has unfortunately delayed notice of these important books, now two years old. At a time when the libraries of France are inaccessible, English students are here presented with a mass of material that may form the starting-point of many minor investigations into the social or linguistic history of the French Renaissance.

The most interesting part of the work is the biographical account given in the first hundred pages. At the present stage of sixteenth-century study, when the main figures have been fairly well explored, it is most important to know as much as possible of the lawyers and officials who, more than any other class, kept the traditions of French culture and society alive in the turmoil of foreign and civil war. They were the decisive element in the French recovery after 1600 and the real founders of the state of Louis XIV. Fauchet is an excellent example, a magistrate and treasury official, his reports of financial missions to places as far distant as Toulouse show the degree of authority that Paris could exercise. In his attitude to the monarchy and to the church he is an instance of that sturdy independence and instinct for compromise which behind the scenes has shaped the destinies of the modern French state. And he is much more than the typical official, he is a bibliophile and scholar whose works show a wealth of reading and care of documentation that earned the praise of Augustin Thierry 250 years later. His unique knowledge of medieval language, literature and customs allows this author to speak of him as 'un des plus grands médiévistes avant Gaston Paris' (p. ix).

Mrs Espiner-Scott deserves the gratitude of all students of the French Renaissance for the patience and industry which she has devoted to a full account of this remarkable man. She graciously admits the assistance of some research done in Oxford some years ago on Fauchet's knowledge of old French literature, but her researches cover a much wider field and make unfailing recourse to original documents. Patient scrutiny of archives has enabled her to reveal something of the real life and interests of a sixteenth-century magistrate. Her careful references produce a sense of security in the reader and in a long book I have found no case where the conclusions seem to go beyond the evidence.

The presentation of all this material is, however, much less satisfactory. English university research badly needs to-day a clearer view of the importance of order and arrangement, and these nine hundred pages are a case in point. None of the French masters of method seem to have helped the author to solve the problems that arise with the publication of documents. Is all information to be given twice? What is the relation of narrative to the 'pièces justificatives'? What is the strict minimum of explanation needed to make points and references clear? These questions would have materially curtailed, I am sure, a treatment so lavish and leisurely as to be in these days of restricted paper and costly book-making almost shocking. Most of the material published is indeed valuable, but it need not have been less so if brought within the compass of one volume of 500 pp. instead of three volumes of 900 pp.

For example, the reproduction of a long passage from the *Annals* of Tacitus can hardly be defended as indispensable when followed by a sentence-by-sentence comparison of the same passage in the English and Latin text. The notes of the volumes frequently overlap, information is sometimes repeated and in one case a quotation is given twice on the same page; bibliography on subjects quite unrelated to Fauchet is extravagant. Writers of theses tend to forget that scholars are interested in the findings of their research, but not in most cases in the workings; these volumes contain too many instances of the workings that have led to the establishment of quite interesting points. It is interesting to know that Fauchet used a contemporary Italian historian; it may be of some value to find out that he used him sixty-five times in a single work, but it is *not* valuable to have all sixty-five references to folio pages meticulously given.

These are all points of small importance, but their effect is considerable, and they are unfortunately typical of present-day practice. French studies will not be carried on with any real success in England and America unless we learn something of French method.

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A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century, Part IV. The Age of Racine, 1673-1700. By HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER. London: Oxford University Press. 1940. 2 vols. 984 pp. 60s.

Here are the two final volumes of Professor Lancaster's monumental work to which he proposes to add subsequently a ninth supplementary volume of general conclusions. That he should be conscious of the need for such a volume raises the whole question of the conception and method of his work. As he discusses his plan in the Introduction to Part IV, we may be permitted to deal with it here. Professor Lancaster has in effect

undertaken a vast experiment in order to verify an hypothesis; he formulates his problem in these words:

I have smiled to see certain scholars present us with three names, isolated from those of their fellows and supposed to represent the whole dramatic life of the seventeenth century in France. It was because I was unwilling to accept their conclusions...that I undertook this work...and endeavoured to determine what plays had been produced during the century, what value might be assigned to them, what were their relations to one another, what circumstances attended their composition, and in this way to give an account of the French seventeenth-century theatre less limited than those previously undertaken, less traditional than many that have been offered to the public.

This was a perfectly legitimate experiment and Professor Lancaster has tackled the problem fairly and squarely in the sense that he has explored the uncharted seas and produced a very complete atlas. Only I cannot help feeling that in compiling it he has a little confused the quantitative and qualitative aspects of his problem. He has certainly determined 'what plays had been produced'; within limits he has stated 'what were their relations to one another' and 'what circumstances attended their production' but as for 'what value might be assigned to them'...*hic jacet lepus*; 'value' is ultimately a question of aesthetic criticism rather than material facts or statistics of box-office receipts. While Professor Lancaster has amply proved that Corneille, Molière and Racine were far from being, numerically, the only pebbles on the seventeenth-century dramatic beach and has thereby helped us to see them in more accurate perspective against the background of their contemporaries, his method of demonstration, with its emphasis on sources, plot and approximation to the classical type, and absence of aesthetic judgements summing up what is peculiar or individual in the genius of a given author or play, fails to convince me that many of 'their fellows' were really worth rescuing from oblivion. One misses at every point Lanson's gift for the precise and pregnant formula in which the essence of a writer is abstracted in a single pungent epithet. Hence the necessity for a ninth volume, a sort of critical *capharnaüm*, where Melpomene and Thalia will, presumably, be weighed in appropriate balances and assigned to appropriate niches. This rather cumbrous procedure is partly the result of the handicap imposed by having to deal with such masses of material that it is only possible to see the forest after the trees have been duly card-indexed.

Thus my chief criticism of the two volumes under review lies in the weakness of the method and this subordination of the qualitative to the quantitative which make the work seem unfinished and inconclusive. Having said this, one can only marvel at the patience and ingenuity Professor Lancaster has shown in collecting, verifying and marshalling the material data of every description which he has utilized.

The period dealt with is the last quarter of the century, the age of Racine in tragedy, the post-Molière period in comedy. In spite of being one of the over-rated 'three names', Racine claims a large share of Pro-

fessor Lancaster's attention and space; 95 pages out of the 413 devoted to tragedy is handsome treatment, especially when we remember that he is helping thereby to invalidate his thesis. Even so, reduced to the Lancastrian formula of sources, plot and type, *Phèdre* itself is hardly distinguishable from Lagrange-Chancel, and, were I not already a confirmed *Racine* fan, I doubt whether I should form a very just opinion of, or even trouble to read, *Andromaque* on the strength of this sort of testimonial:

The perfect unity of the action, determined by the decisions of a central character and the reactions to them of three other important persons, makes of *Andromache* [sic] a model of classical structure. Racine showed in it that tragedy could be produced by love. . . . He showed his ability to come near to ordinary experience, to approach comedy, to write verse that at times resembles prose, yet to remain tragic and poetic.

This is an analysis of dramatic technique, but it does not help to place Racine either as a tragic poet or in relation to his contemporaries. If, however, aesthetic criticism is largely absent or merely deferred, Professor Lancaster's erudition is revealed fully when he is dealing with the material facts of production and performance, prices of seats, takings and actors' shares. It is evident, too, that he has studied and weighed carefully every shred of evidence, every valid hypothesis about the problems of Racine's life and the so-called conversion, and his conclusions are often eminently shrewd and sensible. So, for example, I am inclined to agree with him when he says:

As he [Racine] no longer needed to associate with actors, as his aunt was probably pointing out the desirability of moral reform, and as he realized that wedlock would help his position at court, he gave the outward sign of moral regeneration by marrying a girl with a handsome fortune before reporting for journalistic duty with the army.

But the facts as thus stated are over-simplified; in the words of a later dramatist: 'the truth is never pure and rarely simple', and Racine's complex motives in the strange *metamora* we call his conversion are a subject I hope to return to in these pages on some other occasion. At this point it is only fair to put in a good word for M. Masson-Forestier, who, in any work on Racine, including the present history, is bowled over like a ninepin by the indignant academic. Obviously *Autour d'un Racine ignoré* was the work of an amateur, and it was rash of him to pin the demonstration of 'the devil was ill, the devil a saint would be' theory to the apocryphal Langres portrait; but there was much to be said in support of the theory on other grounds and with a wider interpretation. We need more eclecticism in our attitude to Racine problems and less of the 'à bas la théorie de X, vive l'hypothèse d'Y!' attitude.

As for the remaining tragic writers they receive their meed of praise or blame, but the impression that remains is always of this rather wearisome succession of scenarios and sources, which may have a certain value for purposes of reference, but gives only a very vague impression of an individual author.

What we have remarked in a general way about the chapters on Tragedy applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the volume on Comedy, in which

even Regnard, Dancourt and Dufresny hardly stand out above their fellows after undergoing this process of standardization. The volume also deals with such forms as the plays written for the *Théâtre Italien*, the farces of the *Foire* and 'machine' plays. There might have been a more definite discrimination at this stage between pure literary drama and definitely popular genres and the point at which one ends and the others begin.

It is clearly impossible to consider a work of this magnitude in any detail; it would indeed be difficult adequately to appreciate Professor Lancaster's wealth of information without having had access to his many sources and read all the plays he analyses. As far as my own observation and knowledge go, my impression is that he is remarkably accurate in all questions of fact, date and source. Many points of interpretation and opinion, however, are open to question; of these it is possible here to mention only a few.

p. 11. 'Boileau opposes cacophany' (*sic*). The verb 'opposes' is misleading. It suggests that someone had advocated or practised cacophony and that Boileau condemned such a doctrine, whereas all Boileau said was:

Fuyez des mauvais sons le concours odieux.

p. 12. Professor Lancaster is here dealing with the dramatic theorists mentioned by Racine. He cites Aristotle and most of the Greek tragic writers, then Corneille and Quinault, and continues: 'nor does he allude in his prefaces to French theorists.' That is true, but, as he is discussing this point in some detail, Professor Lancaster might have added that he *does* refer to two other important theorists: Heinsius (*Thebaïde*, *Préface*) and Vettori (cf. *Grands Écrivains* edition, vol. v, p. 481).

p. 57. 'Yet the fact that Pyrrhus had broken his promise to marry Hermione scarcely argued that he would keep his oath to her rival.' Surely there is no analogy between the two. It was only natural that he should break off his betrothal to Hermione, whom he had never loved; it was equally natural that he should keep his oath to Andromaque, with whom he was completely infatuated, even after her death.

p. 59. 'Racine succeeded in making of him [Pyrrhus] a man who wins our sympathy.' I find it difficult to admit this. What sort of sympathy can we feel for the blundering idiot who calmly breaks with Hermione in the words:

J'épouse une Troyenne, oui Madame, et j'avoue
Que je vous ai promis la foi que je lui voue;

and follows this up by assuming her indifference:

Je suivais mon devoir, et vous cédiez au votre.
Rien ne vous engageait à m'aimer en effet...

thereby drawing on himself the furious outburst of the wounded tigress:

Je ne t'ai point aimé, cruel? qu'ai-je donc fait?

Can one therefore agree that he is 'punished more than he deserves', when his punishment is the logical outcome of his conduct?

p. 59. I cannot accept Oreste as a 'Romantic figure' in the sense of Lemaître's 'déjà l'homme fatal'; the whole of Lemaître's development is a pretty theme for a semi-popular lecture, but it is inexact. Oreste is too *clairvoyant* for a Romantic; he knows that Hermione will never love him, and he struggles against the destiny that overwhelms him:

J'assassine à regret un roi que je révère...
Je viole en un jour le droit des souverains
Ceux des ambassadeurs et tous ceux des humains.

He analyses himself with relentless and impersonal detachment; if he is a Romantic he is of the school of Adolphe rather than that of René.

p. 131. 'M. Le Bidois indicated how he [Racine] substituted for scenery reference to facial expression.' Both M. Le Bidois and Professor Lancaster seem to be guilty of some confusion of thought. Scenery, whether in the seventeenth century or in the modern sense, is essentially static and localized; facial expression, as in a phrase like: 'Seigneur, vous changez de visage', is essentially dynamic and dramatic. Thus, although the change is visible, the significance lies in the attitude it reveals rather than in the words which call attention to it or its outward manifestation. Personally I should define 'Seigneur, vous changez de visage' here as an example of 'moral recognition'.

p. 605. Speaking of the plays of the Théâtre Italien, Professor Lancaster says 'Seldom is a *personnage sympathique* found in the scenes in which they acted. But if one hardens one's heart, one can enjoy their strange medley of... simpletons and pedants, dishonest lawyers and unwary shopkeepers, amorous widows and gilded youths.' This is a very Diderotesque view for a critic of comedy, which certainly requires some hardness of heart—and head—in its votaries. Or has Professor Lancaster joined the ranks of those who, in Meredith's words: 'have a sentimental objection to face the study of the actual world... Humorous writing they will endure... if it mingles with pathos to shake and elevate the feelings... But of Comedy they have a shivering dread, for comedy enfolds them with the wretched host of the world, huddles them with us all in an ignoble assimilation.' I should be very sorry to think that Professor Lancaster had 'a shivering dread' of Comedy!

But many of these points are debateable and the author is entitled to his opinion on them. What is important is that he has provided a vast and documented *catalogue raisonné* of the drama of the seventeenth century and a very complete survey of the practical and economic aspects of dramatic production which should prove of inestimable value to the student of technique in the classical drama.

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The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Comedras. By S. GRISWOLD MORLEY and COURTNEY BRUERTON. (*Modern Language Association of America. Monograph XI.*) New York and London: Oxford University Press. 1940. xiv + 427 pp.

The appearance of Professor S. G. Morley and Courtney Bruerton's book is an event of cardinal importance in Lopean and Spanish studies. The paradox that afflicts these is too well known to Hispanists. Lope, the greatest dramatist of his country, has been the subject of many books, which have been compelled to evade his dramas. Professor Rennert's *Life* drew heavily on the non-dramatic works for biographical evidence, and Professor Vossler's brilliant, if unsound, appreciation, rested upon *La Dorotea* with, at most, a hand-picked selection from the plays. The great mass has defied attempts at organization, apart from rough and ready classification by topics. But with the appearance of this book that disorganization is an affair of the past.

It might be too much to say that a new technique is here used, if by the term we understand anything of general applicability. Lope de Vega is an exceptional case in that the enormous mass of his plays does allow probable inferences from calculations, graphs and tables of figures. The authors follow a severely statistical method, and their conclusions are

remarkably firm, both when admitting or rejecting attributions, and in determining dates for undated works. Of course, direct evidence of date is always the strongest. Allusions help to fix earliest or latest dates, but they have been shown to be not always reliable. An event, the subject of an allusion, is not always close in time to its mention. The authors have also had to face the difficulty of attribution, and have carefully defined the extent of their trust in the variously attested pieces. An important previous question for them was the reliability of printed texts. Exhaustive comparison with autograph manuscripts in the available instances shows that, while there may be much shortening, it is customarily distributed over the poem, and does not seriously change the statistical evidence.

The statistical evidence includes figures for the use of metres, act-endings, internal rhyme, trisyllabic rhyme, numbers of metres combined, etc. Thus there are metres which increase in frequency over the years, and others which decrease. When these are in great demand, they may even give rise to frequency graphs, such as those for the decline of the *redondilla* and the rise of the *pie de romance*. This sort of evidence is tabulated on pp. 122-4. By drawing up the table of statistics for a given play, it is then possible to infer dates for each of the metres used, and then to tot them up to give the date of the play. For instance, *La Serrana de Tormes* was first printed in 1621, with a note by Lope referring it to 'el principio de mis estudios'. There are five passages in blank verse (*sueltos*), and no dated play after 1595 has so many; the date inferred is 1590 ?-95, and possibly 1593-4. (Professor Arjona had noted the presence of a *gracioso* as characteristic of a play after 1593.) *Los Melindres de Belisa* is mentioned in the second *Peregrino* list and issued in 1617. Here the various metres give the following separate inferences: *redondillas* before 1620, *quintillas* before 1626 or 1623-5, *décimas* 1598 ?-1616, *romances* 1597 ?-1615, *esdrújulos* after 1598, *pareados en sueltos* 1606 ?-12 ? There is a reference in Quevedo's *Sueño del infierno* (1608) to 'Horacio en la caballeriza', which is probably to this play; and this allusion, combined with the evidence of the couplets in blank verse, gives a bracket 1606-8, probably 1608.

This is interesting, but still more so is the effect of statistical analysis on plays of doubtful attribution. Let us take *La Estrella de Sevilla*. The *redondillas* indicate 1631-5, the *quintillas* before 1616, the *décimas* 1620-35, the *romances* 1614-30. It is evident that they conform to no period of Lope's activity, and therefore the play is not his. Similarly the authors reject the *Infanzón de Illescas*, and declare that *El Alcalde de Zalamea* is not likely to be his work in its present form.

The argument is concluded in the Appendix of Chronological Tables, to which (I fancy) most readers will turn both first and last. Here is an ordering of his plays which, for the first time, makes their consecutive study possible. Bibliography, raw data, corrections and an index of plays and authors follow. One part of the future study of Lope is completed by this volume itself, namely, that of his metrical technique. The authors

have made such associations as are possible between the use of metres and their dramatic intention. It appears that the recipe given in *El Arte Nuevo* is merely extemporized, and partly due to metrical convenience. Given the dates, we may go on to find some significance in non-metrical elements of verse, and we certainly ought to discover something of interest with regard to characterization and rhetoric. In fact, Lope the dramatist appears upon the horizon of feasible studies. There is still a vast amount of work to be done, but nothing so difficult, so apparently hopeless, as the task which Professor Morley and his colleague have accomplished with such conspicuous success.

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Das dichterische Kunstwerk. Grundbegriffe der Urteilsbildung in der Literaturgeschichte. By EMIL ERMATINGER. Dritte neubearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner. 1939. viii + 409 pp. RM. 8 (unbound).

The appearance of a revised edition of this important work after a lapse of nearly twenty years was an event to be gratefully welcomed. As was to be expected, the author has developed and matured his views on many matters involving both critical appreciation and psychological analysis. On the whole, the result is that what was originally an unusually valuable contribution to the study of literary art has become still more valuable; but it must be regretfully noted that Ermatinger has apparently been infected by the Nazi virus and revised his work under its influence. Fortunately most of his book has remained unaffected by this; but partly because it goes deeper than is suggested in the short preface to the new edition, and partly to avoid leaving a false impression, it seems desirable to summarize its effects.

The preface gives a first mild hint of what to expect: after expressing satisfaction that in spite of the radically changed times no fundamental alterations have proved necessary, the author concludes: 'daneben mussten die Beispiele dem heutigen Denken angenähert werden'. In actual fact changes coming under this heading are not numerous, though a few stand out, some of them coloured with anti-Semitism. Karl Marx is replaced by Adolf Hitler as an example of a 'creative' individual (p. 7); Franz Werfel, his Jewish blood emphasized, replaces Albert Ehrenstein to illustrate the cult of intentional obscurity (p. 15); a completely new paragraph contrasts Ernst Glaeser (*Frieden*, 1931) as an effeminately ironic cynic with Edwin Erich Dwinger (*Wir rufen Deutschland*, 1932) as a fighter full of faith and helpfulness (pp. 41 ff.); Thomas Mann is ousted in favour of Platen (p. 44), and a recommendation of his *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (2nd ed. p. 390) is suppressed; a quotation from Heine (2nd ed. p. 215) is cut out. In the new edition Mann is mentioned once only, as a writer formerly admired for the fine psychological characterization in his *Buddenbrooks*; Heine's name occurs five

times, though only one page-reference to him is shown in the index. Anti-Semitism comes out strongly at the end of the section on 'Das Wesen des Stofferlebens'. Dealing with the introduction of morbid, repulsive and filthy details, Ermatinger in his former edition contrasted their justifiable poetic use in the Walpurgisnacht scene, or by Dostoievsky, with their unpoetic use by Zola and the German exponents of Naturalism; in the present edition he contrasts the justifiable realism of such details in Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* with the practice of modern Jewish writers:

Etwas ganz anderes aber ist es, wenn seit dem Kriege der deutsche Roman wie die deutsche Lyrik durch jüdische Schriftsteller mit geschlechtlichen oder verdauungsphysiologischen Unflatigkeiten aller Art beschmutzt worden sind... und nicht-jüdische gar diese Mode mitmachten (p. 143).

Small alterations like these, however, for which the preface has prepared us, are of less moment than some on a larger scale which indicate a fundamental change of outlook that has to some extent affected the author's literary philosophy. This change shows itself in a preliminary way in his first chapter, 'Voraussetzungen', where a forceful statement of the theory that no individual can be creative unless his Ego rebels against one or more aspects of his environment (pp. 5-6) is replaced by emphasis on the 'Erbgut des Blutes, der Rasse, des Volkstums' and—using Goethe's poem *Urworte. Orphisch* as support—acceptance of the view that the creative Ego, in an environment determined by Chance (Tyche), must submit to Compulsion ('Ananke, die Nötigung', as Goethe calls it). 'Er unterwirft sich der zur Ananke, der notwendigen Ordnung gehärteten Tyche in Gesellschaft und Staat' is how Ermatinger puts it. But it is at the end of his discussion of 'Weltanschauung und Psychologie' that his changed outlook is most openly expressed. Instead of four pages (pp. 120-4) in the previous edition on the futility, for the literary historian and critic, of defining in abstract terms the 'Weltanschauungen' of great writers, we are now given (pp. 122-8): first, an attractive, if not entirely satisfying, explanation of the constant sequence of different 'Weltanschauungen' characteristic of successive periods (born of spiritual convictions, spreading as dynamic 'Ideen', but becoming intellectualized to mere static 'Begriffe', and consequently being superseded by their successors); and then, to indicate how the study of individual writers in relation to the 'Weltanschauungen' of their environment might prove fruitful, a broad survey from the Reformation to the coming of National-Socialism, a survey concluding as follows:

Der Sieg der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung kostete dann, scheinbar über Nacht, wieder den Glauben an die Macht der Idee aus. Weltanschauung, vorher nur geistiger Besitz einzelner, wurde wieder stürmisch bekanntes Gut der Masse. Die Idee des Volkes, des Staates brach in den früher angstlich gehuteten Bezirk des kirchlichen Lebens ein, erfüllte, im Zeitgeschehen erglukt, sich hier mit dem Glanze der Heiligkeit, durchdrang das kirchliche Leben mit neuer Triebkraft und erhob das Bewusstsein des Deutschtums zur Religion. So wandelten sich von Grund auf der Gehalt und die Form der Dichtung. An die Stelle der feinfingerig abtastenden, am Ort trippelnden,

psychologischen Literatur trat die starkknochige, in derben Schuhen ausschreitende Weltanschauungsliteratur. Was sie zu leisten vermag, darüber zu urteilen, ist die Zeit noch nicht gekommen.

Apart from these and similar alterations due mainly to the author's new political outlook, or perhaps one should say 'Weltanschauung', there are numerous others, both small scale and large scale, such as might have been expected in any case in a revised edition.

Of the smaller alterations many, of course, are made purely for the sake of greater clarity or precision, or to change a simile; and many have the purpose of bringing the book up to date. But others, which readers will note with varying degrees of interest, indicate changes of view on the author's part, or introduce new ideas. Examples are: Schiller is no longer referred to as being completely under the spell of Kant (pp. 64, 81, 118, 120); the treatment of Holderlin's philosophic processes is expanded, and insistence on their being dependent not on thought, but on feeling, gives way to the view that he thought in yielding and unstable pictures rather than in strict and firm concepts (pp. 97 ff.); the contemptuous description, in the former edition, of the later Baroque historical novels is replaced by a just appreciation of them (p. 156); writing on the two extreme forms of 'Weltanschauung' which exclude tragedy (those assuming either man's absolute freedom of action or his complete lack of freedom), Ermatinger no longer describes the former as 'ästhetisch belanglos', but refers to Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* as an example of it, and illustrates the latter by reference to G. Hauptmann's naturalistic dramas and to the Fate Tragedy, and mentions Schiller as having spoken the final word on tragedies of middle and lower class life in his *Shakespeares Schatten* (pp. 236 ff.); whereas in the former edition Christianity received more generous credit for its contribution of symbolical figures to literature than was strictly justified, in the present it receives too little (p. 293); instead of a contrast between the steady, natural sequence of events in *Der grüne Heinrich* and their artificial, sensational planning in *Ritter vom Geiste* we get the judgement on German literature of the last seventy years that in shaping their works writers have no longer regarded their task as one of creating from within themselves, but as a matter of external technique (p. 120); three sentences are interpolated distinguishing between three different forms of Irony—the Socratic, the Rationalist, and the Romantic (p. 219); a longer interpolation of about half a page extends the former treatment of 'intrigue' as an ingredient in literary works—its interference with the artistic effect of Schiller's dramas, its use particularly in intellectualistic periods, the tension it produces one of technique only, its real domain the cheap popular novel and the detective story (p. 289).

The alterations on a larger scale, apart from what has already been noticed at the beginning of this review, are the following:

(1) The paragraph in the previous edition on the almost complete futility of psychiatric or psycho-analytic study of great writers (pp. 27 ff.) is modified and shortened; it is now conceded that the literary historian

should be familiar with the technical terms of psycho-analysis, and that it is important to study authors' psychology. Then follow two pages of new matter. In these Ermatinger first distinguishes between 'Seele'—which he defines as 'die Gesamtheit der vorübergehenden, zeitlichen Funktionen des Körpers'—and 'Geist', 'das überzeitliche, bleibende Ergebnis der seelischen Funktionen'. This distinction has to be borne in mind when reading some later portions of the book, but at this point it is applied broadly to consideration of the poet's actual life and imaginative creation. The relationship of these is summed up as a symmetrical process: in the world of actuality the poet's 'seelisches, psychologisches Verhalten' produces as 'geistiges Ergebnis' certain conceptions, ideas, thoughts; in the literary work these function as 'Weltanschauung', but have to be presented in a psychologically effective way by descriptions or in the psychological behaviour of characters as shown in their actions and words (pp. 27 ff.).

(2) The passage in the previous edition (pp. 43 f.) dealing with writers who deny themselves the pleasures of the senses for the sake of their literary creation, like Thomas Mann, or who live completely ascetic lives, like Stefan George, and thereby deprive their works of vitality, are radically altered, and new matter is added. Mann is replaced by Platen as a writer who, with rare exceptions, kept an impenetrable barrier between his personal experiences and his poetic work, George is appreciated somewhat more fully and leniently; and a page is devoted to the Anacreontic poets, especially Hagedorn and Gleim (pp. 44 ff.).

(3) Instead of the five pages (pp. 258–63) in the previous edition dealing with 'Die Motivierung in der Lyrik' and 'Der Rhythmus als Motivierung in der Lyrik' we now have six pages containing a radically revised treatment of the first of these topics. Starting from the newly introduced postulate that no poem can be of value without an 'Idee', Ermatinger no longer rejects 'Gedankenlyrik' as a spurious variety, but accepts it and illustrates it with references to Goethe and Schiller. His treatment of 'Stimmungsllyrik' is also extensively revised. There is first a somewhat modified definition of the 'Idee' in lyric poetry, which is now identified with a 'persönliche geistige Haltung' (instead of a 'bestimmte Gemüthshaltung'), and the former emphatic condemnation of the folly of looking for a moral in a poem is almost suppressed, the admission being made that in some exceptional cases, such as Goethe's *Der getreue Eckart*, poets have actually intended to convey a moral. Then follows, as new matter, a comparative analysis of Goethe's *Über allen Gipfeln*, Claudius's *Der Mond ist aufgegangen*, Hebbel's *Abendgefühl*, and Keller's *Augen, meine lieben Fensterlein* for the purpose of defining the 'Idee' underlying each: Goethe's pantheistic conception of Nature, Claudius's outlook of enlightened middle-class Christianity, Hebbel's combination of pantheism and individualism, Keller's materialistic view of life. With them is contrasted Dehmel's *Manche Nacht*, to show how the lack of any fundamental 'Idee' produces a feeling of emptiness (pp. 262–7). The three

pages in the previous edition on 'Der Rhythmus als Motivierung in der Lyrik' have disappeared leaving only this heading on p. 267 (one of the very rare oversights in this edition) and one sentence on p. 265 at the end of the analysis of *Über allen Gipfeln*: 'Nur angedeutet sei, wie die Idee der durchgliederten Natur sich kunstvoll in der sprachlich-rhythmischen Gestalt des Gedichtes ausprägt.'

(4) Two pages of the treatment of 'innere Motivierung' in the epic and the drama are almost entirely recast, though without introducing any important change in the author's views. It is true that in the previous edition he wrote: 'Psychologische Motivierung heisst also ideelle Motivierung' (p. 275), whereas he now writes: 'Psychologische Motivierung gibt es also in Wirklichkeit nicht, sondern nur psychologische Gestaltung von dem Mittelpunkt einer weltanschaulichen Idee aus' (p. 279). But this alteration indicates not so much a change of thought as a clarification; in both editions the 'weltanschauliche Idee' is stressed as the one and only source of 'innere Motivierung'. In the previous edition the statement quoted above was followed by two paragraphs now omitted as redundant. Their purpose was to show: first, that purely psychological motivation was not to be found even in the works of lesser novelists like Heyse and Ebers, though the 'Idee' underlying them is in fact so weak and conventional as to have hardly any dynamic force and therefore to be barely perceptible; and, second, that in spite of appearances the essential 'Einheit der Idee' is recognizable in Fontane's prose fiction and can be formulated as 'Die Verhältnisse machen den Menschen'. In the present edition the lack of this 'Einheit der weltanschaulichen Idee' in Grillparzer's *Medea*, the attempt to combine two incompatible 'Weltanschauungen', the one modern and bourgeois, the other that of Greek mythology, is dealt with much more fully than in the previous edition.

The Appendix is brought up to date by additions and substitutions of the bibliographical references.

F. E. SANDBACH.

MALVERN.

Maske und Gesicht in den Werken Conrad Ferdinand Meyers. By CAROL KLEE BANG. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. 190 pp. \$2.50.

The much criticized Stimmgabeltechnik is by no means yet exhausted, offering as it does such a chance for experiment. Thus mountains are made out of molehills, and the result is foreseen from the outset. The problem 'Maske und Gesicht' certainly captivates one at a first glance, particularly in regard to the Sturm und Drang drama and pointing back indeed to the mystics' 'Mensch, werde wesentlich!' And here we must admit that the Stimmgabel approach is justified, for in C. K. Bang's research the problem is considered with careful understanding as the

chief trait in C. F. Meyer's personality and work, whilst the various points are finely gathered round a central idea.

The first part of the book discusses Meyer's characters, i.e. the masks worn by the scoundrel (e.g. Herzog von Schwaben in *Hutten's letzte Tage*), the fool (the General in *Der Schuss von der Kanzel*), the courtly diplomat (Maintenon in *Das Leiden eines Knaben*), the mask put on in fear or out of self-sacrifice (Chatillon in *Das Amulett* and Faustine in *Die Richterin*), or that of the Doppelgänger in the *Hochzeit des Mönchs*, the mask of paradox and contradiction in *Der Heilige* or in *Plautus im Nonnenkloster*, of the mysterious in *Die Versuchung des Pescara* or in *Jürg Jenatsch*, of the fey (Thomas à Becket), the death mask and finally the allegory in *Die sanfte Klostersaufhebung*, etc. The question of Christ's character—whether man or god or charlatan—is put forward by Meyer in *Das Amulett*, *Hochzeit des Mönchs*, *Der Heilige*; moreover in seven short stories the figure of Christ wears seven different guises, whilst in *Angela Borgia* Christ is revealed as the divine fount of justice. Bangs gives a succinct analysis of the matter. Naturally the above method cannot help drawing the boundaries somewhat too sharply, but Bang's differentiation between the mask and the real man is most instructive, cf. particularly *Jürg Jenatsch*, his 'Übermenschentum', his love for his fatherland, and his great fate.

The second part of the book treats of the cause of Meyer's obsession in the mask and its effect on the life of the poet. As source the writer uses letters and reviews, and attempts a study of the master's technique. Bang's view that the disguise and paradox present dominant features of Meyer's personality is convincingly expounded. The much vexed problem as to whether Meyer suffered from an excess (cf. the views of K. E. Franzos, W. Linden) or lack of passion (cf. A. Frey, R. Faesi, F. F. Baumgarten) receives a fair judgement through Hutten's words: '...Ich bin kein ausgeklügelt Buch./Ich bin ein Mensch mit seinem Widerspruch.'

How closely and continually essence and appearance, life and dream intermingle with one another is suggested with revealing lucidity in Meyer's poem *Möwenflug*. In this respect and throughout the book C. K. Bang's study is largely concerned with Meyer's prose, although he also often points to an inclination to masquerade in Meyer's lyrics, e.g. the 'Baumgedichte' (pp. 142-3), 'Beichten' (pp. 144-5), and above all the poems in which the poet seeks to hide his real nature through philosophical excursions (pp. 145-6). More intimate perhaps than all his other poems and by his own acknowledgement is his *Hutten*, one of the works to which Bang indeed gives special attention.

The book is unfortunately not free from misprints, but written and published as it is in German, and otherwise well produced, it represents a worthy and most valuable example of literary research in the U.S.A.

A. CLOSS.

Víga-Glúms Saga. Edited by G. TURVILLE-PETRE. (*Oxford English Monographs*.) London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1940. lvi+Map+112 pp. 10s.

With the growth of interest in Old Norse studies in this country, it has been recognized for some time that, if funds and a publisher were forthcoming, a series of editions of the Icelandic Sagas by English editors would be an ideal project. Failing their appearance in a uniform format, scholars have welcomed the appearance of Mr L. M. Small's edition of the *Gunnlaugssaga* as a monograph in *Leeds Studies in English*, and will therefore thank the General Editors of the *Oxford English Monographs* for including Mr Turville-Petre's study of the *Víga-Glúms saga* in their series. Some critics would maintain that an English edition of a saga should contain a glossary and translation, but Mr Turville-Petre has removed much of the ground for any such objection by the notes to his text, which guide through difficulties of vocabulary and construction, and from a store of learning on matters of period and background illumine the issues at stake and the mainsprings of action; the difficult verse stanzas of the saga are also fully clarified here. Mr Turville-Petre has the advantage of many years' study in Iceland, whose scholars, as he says, have been generous in their assistance in discussion and in establishing the readings of the MSS. Furthermore his fluency in modern Icelandic is successfully used to parallel the use of older phraseology in the determination of its meaning.

The saga itself, somewhat neglected in this country despite Head's translation, has several interesting features which the editor brings out: the interplay of the *hamingja* and *urðr* conceptions, the belief in the magical power of the hero's cloak, sword and spear, and the clash between the rival cults of Óðinn and Freyr. The remainder of the Introduction deals with the textual history of the saga, its interpolations, digressions and chronology; fragments of texts of the saga are printed in appendixes, and are intended 'to give the reader an idea of the changes which the saga suffered in the course of scribal transmission'.

G. N. GARMONSWAY.

LONDON.

SHORT NOTICES

In the twenty-fifth volume of *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, collected by Mr Percy Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1940. 115 pp. 7s. 6d.), two articles stand out as being of special importance. Sir William Craigie shows conclusively, in contradiction to the hitherto accepted view, that the *Kingis Quair* was written in Southern English and that the Scottish forms are due to the scribes of the unique manuscript, who introduced similar forms into Chaucerian poems; he adds comments on various difficulties in the text, and concludes that the evidence of the language supports the traditional ascription to King James. Mr Geoffrey Tillotson writes with sympathy and understanding of 'Eighteenth-Century Poetic Diction', which, he points out, had values not at once apparent to readers approaching it by way of nineteenth-century poetry: much of it, for instance, derives from Virgil, and the true atmosphere is lost when readers fail to supply the Virgilian connotation; it is found chiefly in the nature poetry, pastoral and georgic, in which the poets of the time did not do their best work, and it has suffered by comparison with the best work of later poets.

For the rest, Professor H. W. Garrod writes on the completed canon of Housman's works with what his admirers will feel to be imperfect sympathy; Miss Agnes M. C. Latham discusses the authenticity of 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Farewell Letter to his Wife in 1603', concluding that the letter and the 'attempted suicide' which was the occasion for it were both faked by Raleigh himself to call attention to his wrongs; Professor V. de S. Pinto writes of 'Realism in English Poetry' from Chaucer onwards; and Professor C. L. Wrenn examines the marginal scribbles in MS. Jesus College, Oxford, 29, trying to learn from them something of the history of the manuscript itself. One unfortunate misprint remains on p. 96—'seven words stuck in the heart' for 'swords... in her heart'.

WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

LONDON.

The Swedish series of monographs devoted to research in Germanic names has received a weighty addition in Erik Tengstrand's *Contribution to the Study of Genitive Composition in Old English Place-Names* (*Nomina Germanica, Arkiv för Germansk Namnforskning*, 7. Uppsala: Almqvist och Wiksell. 1940. lxxviii + 354. 12 kr.). This highly specialized study is in the nature of a 'situation report'. Taking the reader completely into his confidence, Dr Tengstrand discusses most frankly and instructively the complex problems which he has encountered. His book marks the first step only in the investigation of the precise conditions under which non-personal genitives appear in place and boundary names. He at first intended to continue Mats Redin's work in *Studies on Uncompounded*

Personal Names in Old English (1919) and to link up these studies with related ones in the field of place-nomenclature. His difficulties in distinguishing satisfactorily between personal and non-personal genitives led him to change his line of investigation for a time and to expand one chapter of his original thesis into a whole book. In this decision he was influenced by a change of attitude towards place-name interpretation which was being assumed by the English Seminar in the University of Uppsala. 'Professor Zachrisson's researches gradually led him to assume that Old English personal names, especially of the uncompounded type, were of rare occurrence in place-names.' In the main Tengstrand's own researches have corroborated his master's assumption.

To-day, hardly anybody denies that genitives of designations for inanimate things occurred in Old English place-names. Concession after concession has been made to the *topographical* tendency. No doubt this change of attitude is due chiefly to the accumulation of material. Our general knowledge of the Old English topographical vocabulary has gradually increased. Repetitions of the same combinations have come to light. One plausible etymology after another has been suggested, based on the assumption that non-personal genitives were used. The special interest shown in this method of interpretation by the scholars headed by Zachrisson has not been without importance.

The problem is largely a syntactic one and the first part of the book is a study in the syntax of the Old English genitive with special reference to boundary surveys, and this is followed by a detailed analysis of secondary compounds. It is unfortunate that so many boundary names are preserved only in post-Conquest copies of charters made at a time when the disintegration of the inflexional system was already far advanced. Still further difficulties arise from that specious inflexion which expresses no definite syntactic relationship but is just 'a combining form' (Skeat), a 'loose' or inorganic *-s-* or *-n-* or *-e-* (Zachrisson), the result of 'mechanical analogy' (Ritter), 'pseudo-genitival' (Mawer). Tengstrand shows conclusively that a more exhaustive examination of the abundant material, even with these limitations in view, is both desirable and profitable. 'Only a very small step is taken in this book', he modestly admits, 'towards the solution of the genitive problem.' Nevertheless, with its carefully chosen documentary material and its full index, the book in its present form is a rich mine of information and a valuable work of reference for all future place-name investigators.

SIMEON POTTER.

SOUTHAMPTON.

We are very grateful to Mr Edwin Johnston Howard for his reprint of Elgot's *The Defence of Good Women* (Oxford, Ohio: The Anchor Press. 1940. ix+85 pp. \$1.25), which reproduces the first edition of this interesting little book, printed by Berthelot in 1540, from the unique copy in the Huntington Library. Variants from the second, 1545, edition are appended in Textual Notes. The original print is reproduced in detail, e.g. a turned 'u' (p. 28, 'Curins'). The heavy nunnation symbol is rather

a blot on the otherwise excellent typography of this reprint. It is odd to find, apparently both in the 1540 and 1545 editions, to judge by Mr Howard's Textual Notes, the marginal reading 'Φιλολόγι Δόρον', which is disconcerting at first sight. On the whole, a facsimile is preferable to those interested in early English printing. Mr Howard furnishes plates, however, of the title-pages of both editions, and of one page of the first, which are useful.

The Glossary is apparently intended for the general reader. If so, 'Halidome, an oath', does not help much with 'holy dome'. The glosses on 'affection' and 'attainted' are erroneous. Early Tudor English needs careful attention, and glosses are missing for such words as 'dishonesty', 'sentence', 'Surry', 'success', 'vacant', or 'wit', which do not bear their modern sense.

Elyot's book is a delightful piece of writing. His admiration for Plato, at the expense of Aristotle, is significant. He pursues the Socratic method in his dialogue. And Zenobia is set up as an example of the Philosopher-Queen, as well as a 'Good Woman', by the author of *The Governor*. It is good to have such treasures of the Huntington Library placed at our disposal. And this makes a charming little book.

C. J. Sisson.

LONDON.

To Mr Edwin Everitt Williams, 'the emotional reactions produced by *Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Macbeth*, and *Athalie* appeared to be distinctly similar and appreciably more powerful than those stimulated by other tragedies', and in *Tragedy of Destiny* (Cambridge, Mass.: Editions xvii Siècle. 1940. 35 pp. 80 c. paper, \$1.50 cloth) he attempts to determine the characteristics which distinguish them from other tragedies, the essential being the foretelling of the hero's fate at the beginning. He gives us an interesting study of their similarities and dissimilarities, and in conclusion he enumerates others which appear to belong to the same species, and considers the possibility of its revival at the present day.

WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

LONDON.

Through his abbreviated and critically annotated edition of Bismarck's *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* (Cambridge: University Press. 1940. 262 pp. 7s. 6d.) Mr A. M. Gibson has performed a notable service to German studies. He has reduced the unwieldy three volumes of the original to a book of 260 pages, which will be read with profit and interest by anyone who wishes to understand the foreign policy of modern Germany during her first period of expansion, or for that matter during the second, through which we are living to-day. After a brief introduction dealing very ably with the origins and the style of the work, and the personality revealed in it, Mr Gibson presents his selections from the text in connected chapters, arranged chronologically. Concise English notes give any

necessary biographical information, amplify the text from other sources and comment on the personalities and events discussed by the author. A valuable appendix examines the origins of the War of 1870 and in particular the Ems Telegram. References are given throughout to the standard authorities, and the result of Mr Gibson's intelligent selection and presentation is a book which will greatly ease the labours both of the student of history and of the student of German, who now, more than ever, should be a student of Germany too. There has never been any question about the value of Bismarck's memoirs as a source-book. They are of absorbing interest for the light they throw on the subtlest and most vigorous of the minds that have shaped modern Germany politically, and on that policy of ruthless national egoism which has brought the world to its present state.

W. H. BRUFORD.

EDINBURGH.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

January—March 1941

With the collaboration of PAMELA GRADON (English)

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Spanish.

ROGERS, P. P., The Spanish Drama Collection in the Oberlin College Library
A Descriptive Catalogue. Oberlin, Ohio, Oberlin College. \$4.50.

French.

(a) *Old French.*

BOWMAN, R. K., The Connections of the Geste des Loherains with other French
Epics and Mediaeval Genres. [Diss.] New York Univ.

(b) *Modern French.*

BALZAC, H. DE, Le Message, ed. by G. B. Raser. Harvard and Oxford Univ.
Presses. 6s.

BOWEN, R. P., The Dramatic Construction of Balzac's Novels. Eugene, Univ. of
Oregon. \$1.00.

DOW, N., The Concept and Term 'Nature' in Montaigne's 'Essays'. [Diss.]
Philadelphia, Univ. Pennsylvania.

ROSENFELD, L. C., From Beast-Machine to Man-Machine. Animal Soul in French
Letters from Descartes to La Mettrie. New York, Oxford Univ. Press.
\$3.50.

SAYLOR, G. R., Alphonse Daudet as a Dramatist. [Diss.] Philadelphia, Univ.
Pennsylvania.

WICKS, C. B., Charles-Guillaume Etienne, Dramatist and Publicist, 1777-1845.
Johns Hopkins and Oxford Univ. Presses. \$1.25.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES

English.

(a) *General (including Linguistic).*

ALDIS, H. G., The Printed Book. 2nd ed., rev. by J. Carter and E. A. Crutchley.
Cambridge, Univ. Press. 5s.

English Institute Annual, 1939. Columbia and Oxford Univ. Presses. 13s. 6d.

SUMMER, M., A Gothic Bibliography. London, Fortune Press. 42s.

(b) *Old and Middle English.*

SHELLY, P. V. D., The Living Chaucer. Pennsylvania and Oxford Univ.
Presses. 18s. 6d.

(c) *Modern English.*

CLIFFORD, J. L., Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs Thrale). Oxford, Clarendon Press.
21s.

CROSSE, G., Fifty Years of Shakespearean Playgoing. London, Mowbray. 2s. 6d.

DAY, C. L. and E. B. MURRIE, English Song-Books, 1651-1702. Oxford Univ.
Press, for the Bibliographical Society.

DUTHIE, G. I., The 'Bad' Quarto of 'Hamlet'. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 10s.

- ELYOT, Sir T., *The Defence of Good Women*, ed. by E. J. Howard. Oxford, Ohio, Anchor Press. \$1.25.
- EWEN, C. L'ESTRANGE, *What Shakespere Signatures Reveal. A Chapter from an Unpublished Book*. Author: 31 Marine Drive, Paignton. 1s.
- Fifteen Poets*. Oxford, Clarendon Press; London, H. Milford. 6s.
- GORMAN, H., *James Joyce*. London, Lane. 15s.
- HARRIS, B., *Charles Sackville, Sixth Earl of Dorset*. Univ. Illinois Press. \$3.00 paper, \$3.50 cloth.
- HERBERT, G., *The Works of*, ed. by F. E. Hutchinson. London, Oxford Univ. Press. 30s.
- HUGHES, H. S., *The Gentle Hertford*. New York, Macmillan. \$4.00.
- MACCARTHY, D., *Drama*. London, Putnam. 9s. 6d.
- MASEFIELD, J., *Some Memories of W. B. Yeats*. Dublin, Cuala Press. 12s. 6d.
- MOFFET, T., *Nobilis, or a View of the Life and Death of a Sidney, and Lessus Lugubris*. Introduction, Translation and Notes by V. B. Heltzel, and H. H. Hudson. San Marino, California; The Huntington Library. \$3.75.
- PARKER, W. R., *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*. Columbus, Ohio State Univ. Press.
- VAN DOREN, M., *Shakespeare*. London, Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

NEW ANALOGUES TO THE 'KING OF TARS'

ALTHOUGH the sources and themes of medieval romances have for long been the subject of detailed study, the *King of Tars*¹ has aroused comparatively little attention. This neglect by scholars of mediaeval literature is the more surprising because the tale was deservedly popular² among fourteenth-century chroniclers as well as among later historians of the Church, of the Byzantine Empire, and of the Tartars. Yet since Krause's publication of the poem and four analogues (three in Anglo-Latin and one in German), the existence of only two other analogues (both in Anglo-Latin) has been noted.³ This paper directs attention to versions of the tale in seventeen⁴ texts never before associated with the English poem, ten of which are dated before the end of the fourteenth century.

A brief summary of the *King of Tars* is desirable for purposes of comparison with the versions here quoted:

To spare her people further war, a self-sacrificing Christian princess marries a heathen sultan who has fallen in love with her upon hearing reports of her great beauty. When their offspring is born a formless lump of flesh, the father accuses the mother of hypocrisy in having merely pretended to believe in his gods. His pleas to the heathen deities fail to restore the child; when, however, at the request of the mother, the infant is baptized, it immediately becomes a handsome boy. Induced by this miracle to adopt the Christian faith, the father himself changes in the baptismal water, from black to white. It being no longer possible to keep his conversion secret, the sultan unites with his father-in-law to convert or kill those of his vassals who have not yet accepted Christianity.

The history of the early fourteenth century clarifies and explains the genesis, dissemination, and popularity of the legend.⁵ A revaluation of

¹ The poem was first published by J. Ritson, *Ancient English Metrical Romances* (London, 1802), II, 156-203, and then by F. Krause, 'Kleine Publicationen aus der Auchinleck-hs', *Englische Studien*, XI (1887), 1-62. The most recent discussion of the tail-rhyme romances makes only occasional references to the poem. See A. McL. Trowce, 'Middle English Tail-rhyme Romances', *Medium Aevum*, I (1932), 87-108, 168-82; II (1933), 34-57, 189-98; III (1934), 30-50.

² The poem survives in three English MSS. of the fourteenth century, the Auchinleck, Vernon, and British Museum Additional MS. 22283.

³ By Laura A. Hibbard, *Medieval Romance in England* (New York, 1924), pp. 45-8, and by F. Holthausen, 'Zu Alt- und Mittelenglischen Denkmälern, no. 38,' *Anglia Z. f. engl. Phil.* XV (1893), 195-7.

⁴ In addition to the seventeen referred to in this paper, three tales not strictly analogues are significant as background for the diffusion of the story. See Petrus Cantinelli, *Chronicon*, ed. F. Torraca (Castello, 1902), R.I.S., nuova ediz., XXVIII, pt. 2, pp. 92-4; *Annales Prioratus de Wigornia*, ed. Henry R. Luard (London, 1869), Rolls Series, XXXVI, pt. 4, pp. 540 and 546; *Annales Frisacenses*, ed. L. Weiland (Hanover, 1879), M.G.H., Script., XXIV, 67.

⁵ See my forthcoming article, 'The Historical Background of the *King of Tars*', in *Speculum*.

the probable sources and chief themes of the tale is necessitated by the eleven early analogues—two in Anglo-Latin, two in Franco-Latin, one in German, four in Germano-Latin, one in Hispano-Latin, and one in Italian. Previous commentators naturally attached great significance to the versions with which they were familiar. Yet these versions differ from the English poem in major themes. (1) they do not refer to a change of colour; in the English poem the father changes in the baptism from black to white; (2) they describe the child born hairy or half hairy; in the English poem he is born a formless lump of flesh. Some of the new analogues here presented are illuminating, since they do supply parallels for these important *motifs*.

The nature of the abnormal birth¹ and miracles affords a significant variant by which the analogues may be grouped:² (A) the hairy child; (B) the half-and-half child; (C) the child born a formless lump.

(A) The hairy child. The tale of the birth of a child completely hairy is recorded five times in Anglo-Latin texts. Of this group, two almost identical versions occur in the printed manuscripts of the *Flores Historiarum*, under the date 1299:³

Sub eodem quoque anno, rex Tharsis et rex Armeniæ et rex Georgeanorum, congregato maximo exercitu, qui fuerunt decies centena milia et quadraginta milia in equis, invocato contra Sarracenos Christi adiutorio, dimicarunt. Et caesa sunt ex Sarracenis, inimicis crucis Christi, apud Alapiam, Alachemala, Gazarum, et Damescum plusquam ducenta et quadraginta milia Sarracenorum in ultionem sanguinis Christianorum, effusi apud Acon et Tripolim et cætera loca sancta. Horum autem Tartarorum, ut fertur, miraculosa conversionis existit causa. Regis Tartarorum magni Cassani frater, paganus, adamavit filiam regis Armeniæ Christianam, quam a patre petiit in conjugem sibi dari; rex autem Armeniæ noluit adquiescere petenti, nisi gentilitatis deponeret errorem et fieret Christianus. At ille prævalens viribus, divitiis, et potentia, sibi intulit minas belli. Et alter, accepto consilio, quod meliores sunt nuptiæ quam pugna, annuit postulatis, quærendo assensum puellæ. At illa parcere volens multitudini, et pro salute gentis suæ, velut Hester altera, se offerens, confisique in Domino, ultro cessit. Denique suscitata inter eos prole masculini sexus, inventus est hispidus et pilosus, velut ursus. Quo patri oblato, dixit non esse suum, quemque statim jussit igne cremari. Mater vero renitens et contradicens, sibi petiit infantem dari. Quo accepto, multum gavisâ, jussit ipsum baptizari, et statim post trinam immersionem in sacro fonte, cecidit omnis villositas de infante, et apparuit lenis et pulcherrimus puerorum. Hoc viso, credidit pater et domus ejus tota.

Under the same date, 1299, the story, entitled *Miraculum de filio cujusdam Tartari*, appears in Rishanger's *Chronica*:⁴

Eodem anno, Rex Tartarorum ab urbe Ierosolomitana expulit Sarracenos. Frater hujus Regis Tartarorum ex filia Regis Armeniæ genuit filium hispidum et pilosum;

¹ See my article, 'The Folklore Sources of the *King of Tars*,' *Philological Quarterly*, January 1941.

² To make the presentation complete, I have cited all the analogues, including those noted by previous writers.

³ *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Henry R. Luard (London, 1890), Rolls Series, xov, pt. 3, pp. 107 and 300.

⁴ W. Rishanger, *Chronica et Annales*, ed. Henry T. Riley (London, 1865), Rolls Series, xxviii, pt. 2, p. 189.

quem cum pater cremari juberet, mater sibi dari infantem petiit; quem fecit illico a presbyteris baptizari. Quo baptizato, cecidit statim tota villositas, et puer ille apparuit levis et pulcher. Quod miraculum cum pater vidisset, credidit ipse, et domus ejus tota.

The tale is told twice in the *Historia Anglica*, the first version, under the date 1298-99, appearing to be merely a copy of Rishanger's record, and the second somewhat longer version, assigned by Walsingham to the year 1307, resembling a version in the *Flores*.¹

Of these five narratives, those in the *Flores Historiarum*, an early fourteenth-century MS, are perhaps the earliest versions of this form of the story in Anglo-Latin.² The portion of Rishanger's chronicle which concerns us, written after the death of Edward I,³ is thus later than the *Flores*. The sections cited from the Walsingham chronicle, being clearly derived from the other Anglo-Latin texts already quoted, have no independent authority⁴ and, moreover, cannot have influenced the earliest MS. of the Middle English poem, which was written at least fifty years before the *Historia Anglica*.

(B) The half-and-half child.

The half-hairy child. The tale in which the monstrous child is born half hairy occurs in six Germanic chronicles. In the *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses*,⁵ probably written in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century,⁶ the event is recorded under the year 1280:

Rex Tartarorum ex inductu uxoris et filie baptizatur, miraculo tamen satis raro efficiente. Generavit enim filium qui ex una parte totus pilosus, ex altera levis fuit. Erat autem regina filia presbiteri Iohannis de India. Idem etiam rex pugnavit cum Saracenis, et eis devictis interfecit 55 milia, soldano fugato, qui graviter vulneratus fugit in Damascum, ibique decimo die mortuus est.

Under the same date, 1280, a long poetic version appears in Ottokar's *Österreichische Reimchronik*:⁷

[The King of the Tartars, having heard of the great beauty of the daughter of the Christian King of Armenia, demands her as his wife and threatens her father with death unless the princess is given over. On the advice of the Bishop and priests, who point out that the Armenians cannot withstand the forces of the Tartars and that perhaps union with a Christian will help to convert the Tartar, the marriage is consented to.]

19186 daz ouch si niht langer
der natûr moht widerstreben,
dô begunde ir got geben
ein kint, darab si erschrac.

¹ Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglica*, ed. Henry T. Riley (London, 1863), Rolls Series, xxviii, pt. 1, pp. 77 and 113.

² *Flores Historiarum*, loc. cit., Introd., p. xiii; this section may be no later than 1303.

³ Rishanger, loc. cit., Introd., p. xxiv; see pp. xxi ff.

⁴ Walsingham, loc. cit., Introd., pp. x and xiv.

⁵ Ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1851), M.G.H., Script., ix, 806.

⁶ Ibid., p. 759 f.

⁷ Ed. J. Seemüller (Hanover, 1890), M.G.H., Auct., v, 253-6, ll 19097-351.

- 19190 daz si niht tât gelac
vor vorhten und vor leide,
dô si die ougenweide
ersach an dem kinde,
des wundert mich swinde.
19195 des Kindes halber teil
was schoen ân alle meil,
der ander teil was rûch
an rucke und an bûch
und uber al an dem lîbe.

[The high council decrees that both child and mother must be killed, since the mother has undoubtedly committed adultery. The last request of the mother, that the child be baptized, is granted.]

- 19271 al die daz kint sâhen,
furwâr die des jâhen,
in wær ze sehen des Kindes bilde
widerzæme unde wilde,
19275 als ich iu vor hân gereit.
in dem namen der drivaltikeit
wart gestôzen daz kint
in die touf ân underwint.
als balde und als schiere
19280 der kleine knabe ziere
fîz der toufe was komen,
dô wart im ab genomen,
swaz er an sinem lîbe hât
squâmes unde unflât,
19285 sô daz sîn bitteru gestalt
wart darzuo gezalt,
daz der kunic muost jehen,
er hiete nie gesehen
Kindes lîp sô schoenen.
19290 alrêrst begund er krenen
der kristen ê und ir got:
er swuor und lobte sîn gebot
und alle, die daz zeichen sâhen.

[When the converted Tartar has been baptized with twelve of his knights, he fights the heathen Sultan, who, having lost 55,000 men, dies, after ten days, in Damascus. Jerusalem is restored to the Christians and Damascus is burned.]

Krause believed that this MS. had been written before 1290. Seemüller's conclusion, on the other hand, based on paleographical evidence, was that the passage here quoted could not have been written before 1300 and was probably to be dated *ca.* 1306–8.¹

Three very condensed versions, probably derived ultimately from Ottokar's *Reimchronik*, are told by Jean de Victring (Johannes Victoriensis) in a chronicle written before 1343 and dedicated to Albert II (Albrecht von Oesterreich Steir und Kärnthen):²

¹ Ibid., Introd., pp. lxxv–lxxxii; R. Durnwirth, *Zwei Bruchstücke aus Alideutschen Dichterwerken* (Klagenfurt, 1881), pp. 23 and 30.

² Published in *Fontes Rerum Germanicarum*, ed. J. F. Bohmer (Stuttgart, 1843), I, 314, and Introd., p. xxviii, and as *Liber Certarum Historiarum*, ed. Feodorus Schneider, in *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum ex MGH, Separatim Editi* (Hanover, 1909), I, 239, 243, 284.

Anno domini m.c.c.lxxx.i...Hoc anno rex Tartarorum paganus duxit filiam regis Armenie pulcherrimam et christianam. Que peperit fetum insutum in media parte in modum fere sylvestris, mediumque in altera nudum. Quod dum aruspices adulterio regine adscriberent, et perimendam dicerent, ipsa oratione puerum baptizari petiit. Quo facto puer totus in forma humana de fonte prosiluit. Rex letus efficitur et baptizatur, et regina salvatur, et sepulchrum domini de manu Soldani debellans Christianis tradidit gubernandum.

Another story probably based on Ottokar is found. under 1280. in the *Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*:¹

Zu der zeit vernam auch der hohist chunig der Tatrre, daz der chünig in Armenia. der auch ain christen was, ain alz schone tochter hiet, daz ir dhaines frawn pild mocht gleichen. Den verjagt nach sagunden dingen die minne so ser in ir necz, unz er allen seinen sin darnach wendet, wie er daz ze weg precht, daz im die minnichleich wurd gegeben. Darnach widerpot er irem vatter und empot im, wolt er vrsten sein leben, so solt er im geben sein tochter. Darumb der chunig von Armenia tet gar chlegleichen. Doch ward zum lesten die schone junchfraw dem Tarter gegeben. Der selb chünig der Tatrre sich ser flaiz des willen der frawen. Darnach si mit im swanger ward und gewan ain chind, das was halbs schön an alle mail, daz ander tail waz rauch uberal. Des ward der Tatrre inne und fragt rates, wie er mit seinem weib und mit dem chinde solt leben. Im rieten die ungetrewn ratgeben, er solt die frawn toten mit sampt dem chinde. Do die urtail dar ward gelegt, doch was si im alz herzenlieb, daz er zu ir sprach, er wolt sei ainer pet vor irem tod gewern. Die fraw pat in, er solt ir chind lassen tauffen. Des sei der chunig geweret. Und also das selb chind zu des chuniges von Tatreys angesicht ward getauffet. Darnach in der tauffe dem selben chind ain swercz ward und unsawberchait ab genomen, daz yeder jach, er hiet nie schoner chind gesehen. Darnach der chunig gieng froleichen zu der frawen. Die fraw sprach: 'Herr, nu sich an den gelauben der christenhait und wie sel und leib die heilige tauffe machet raine.' Der chunig sprach: 'Fraw, nim hin mein trew, daz ich ain christen sicherlich nu wil werden.' Er liez sich tauffen in churczter zeit mit zwelfen seiner genossen und behielt der pfaffen ler und gepot mit stetichait. Darnach strait er durch christenleichts gelawbens willen mit chünig soldan, dem er erslug fünf und fünfzig tausent man. Chunig soldan entran mit verchwunden gen Damascum, da er an dem zehenden tag must sterben. Der getaufft chunig zoch darnach gen Iherusalem. Die stat er undertan machet gencleich den christen.

The last entry of this chronicle is dated 1386, and the earliest MS. probably dates from before the end of the fourteenth century.²

The half-human, half-animal child. The birth of a child half-animal is reported in a letter to Jayme II of Aragon, dated at Beaucaire, 4 August [1300-7].³

Ugo de Cardona archidiaconus Barchinonensis nunc venit noviter de Montepessulano, qui mirabilia enarrabat, videlicet, quod nuncii regis Tartarum et regis Irminie sollempnes euntes ad dominum papam ex parte eorundem per Montepessulanum transierunt et ibi cum eodem archidiacono comederunt. Qui eidem archidiacono quedam, propter que vadunt ad dominum papam, que valde miraculose facta fuerunt, narraverunt, videlicet, quod rex Tartarum antedictus habet dicti regis Irminie filiam in uxorem, a qua non habuerat adhuc prolem, de quo idem rex Tartarum erat miraliter agravatus. Cuius uxor predicta dixit eidem regi, quod, si vellet prolem aliquam generare, confidebat in domino, quod, si irent ad beatam Mariam de Nazareno simul, ibi pro certo prolem et sine dubio procrearet. Cum autem ipse incredulus multo tem-

¹ Ed. J. Seemüller (Hanover, 1909), M.G.H., Script., vi, 138-9

² Ibid., Introd., p. celix, l. 20; pp. clxxiv f., clxxx.

³ Reprinted in *Acta Aragonensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II (1291-1327)*, ed. Heinrich Finke (Berlin, 1908), II, 746 (item 464).

pore hoc facere recusasset, ad magnam tamen instanciam uxoris sue predictae, que multum institerat in predictis, ivit ad locum predictum cum eadem et ibidem concepit certissime ipsa uxor. Cum vero ad terram suam reversa suo tempore peperisset, habuit partum scilicet mediocriter hominem et formam mediocriter animalis. Rex autem predictus et gentes sue, qui de pregnatu guavisi fuerant ultra modum, de eodem partu fuerunt mirabiliter perterriti. concordantes, quod ipsa regina modis omnibus moreretur, regina autem, que christianissima erat, valde confidens in domino Ihesu Christo devotissime supplicavit, ut rex dictum partum faceret baptizari, et quod, nisi in dicto partu post baptismum videretur miraculose dominum operasse, de ea fieret iusticia, ut deberet, cum hoc videretur contra naturam totaliter adfuisse. Cum autem baptizatus fuit dictus partus, incontinenti totaliter fuit homo. Ex quo rex predictus et gentes fuerunt mirabiliter admirati et tam ipse quam plures de gentibus suis sunt in proposito baptizandi. Et dicto domino pape hoc debent dicti nunciari. Et amplius, quod dictus rex est paratus auferre Sarascenis locum sanctum Jherusalem et tradere Christianis, si ibi Christiani fuerint, qui recipiant et possideant dictam terram, requirendo dominum papam et rogando, ut Christianos ad terram predictam mittat, ut possit fidelibus populari, quia ipse rex dictam terram suis expensis propriis adquirere procurabit. Dat. apud Bellicadrum II nonas Augusti.

The letter is dated, but does not give the year. Finke, admitting the difficulty of dating this type of MS.,¹ attributed the letter to 1307 because he knew of a Tartar embassy in that year.² His dating, if based only on that fact, is not necessarily correct, and, by the same kind of evidence, the date may just as well be 1300 or 1301-2, in which years there were similar embassies.³

The half-black, half-white child. Both versions of this form of the tale, which represent a significant variation in the account of the monstrous birth, are found in Franco-Latin chronicles. In his *Chronique et Annales*, Gilles Le Muisit records the event as of 1337:⁴

Anno m^o trecentesimo tricesimo septimo, domino papa Benedicto apicem fidei christiane gubernante, rex Tartarorum qui dicitur Cham, per quoddam miraculum quod sibi Dominus ostendit, fidem christianam credidit et approbavit, et ad eandem corde est conversus, cupiens fieri christianus. Miraculum autem tale fuit: rex predictus habebat plures concubinas; fuit autem inter eas una, quam rex pre alius diligebat, que erat christiana; dictus autem rex pluries precibus, minis et terroribus requisivit ut christianitatem abnegaret et legi, quam tenebat, se subderet; illa autem semper restitit et fidem christianam observavit. Accidit vero quod rex eam cognovit et illa, concipiens puerum, edidit masculinum; fuit autem illa creatura a latere dextro alba et a sinistro latere nigra nimis; et rex, hoc cognito et visa creatura, fecit expellere, precipiens ut nunquam compareret; mater autem per interpositas personas rogavit regem ut de infante suam posset facere voluntatem; habita autem super hoc a rege licentia, fecit illum baptizari et incontinenti post baptismum nulla nigredo comparuit. Rex autem, ut audivit et vidit miraculum, citius quam potuit fecit se baptizare. Misit autem legatos ad dominum summum pontificem Benedictum, supplicans et re-

¹ Ibid., I, lxxviii.

² Ibid., II, 748.

³ Ibid., I, 86 (item 60); see III (Berlin, 1922), 91 (item 42); and Gênes, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile, printed as 'Actes Passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le Notaire Génois Lamberto di Sambuceto', *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II (1884), 4; *Martini Continuatio Brabantina*, ed. L. Weiland (Hanover, 1879), M.G.H., Script., xxiv, 261; *Gesta Boemundi Archiepiscopi Treverensis*, ed. H. Cardauns, *ibid.*, p. 483; *Annales Frisacenses*, *ibid.*, p. 67; *Martini Continuationes Anglicae Fratrum Minorum*, *ibid.*, pp. 253 and 258; *Complutatio Chronologica*, ed. J. Pistorius (Ratisbonae, 1726), 3rd ed., I, 1106; J. P. Mezger, *Historia Salisburgensis* (Salzburg, 1692), Liber IV, cap. xxxi, 457.

⁴ Gilles Le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales*, ed. Henri Lemaître, for La Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1906), pp. 114-15

cuprens ut sibi mitterentur persone de fide catholica instructe que ei et populo sibi subiecto verbum vite et fidem catholicam predicarent. Dominus autem papa gaudio magno gavisus est et legatos recepit honorifice, ut decebat; habitoque consilio cum sacro collegio dominorum cardinalium, elegit duos fratres de ordine Predicatorum, doctos et instructos, valentes complere devotionem dicti regis Tartarorum, misitque dictos fratres cum legatis antedictis.

A version almost identical appears in the *Chronicon Muevini*, under the date 1338:¹

Ex tempore, rex Tartarorum, quem vocant *Cham*, convincitur ad fidem christianam, propter quoddam miraculum in terra sua a Domino ostensum, misitque legatos suos domino papae Benedicto, rogans ut sibi mitteret, qui fidem christianam sibi ac populo suo impertiret. Quos cum magno gaudio praefatus papa suscepit, et eis ut decuit honoratis, duos fratres ordinis praedicatorum, aptos ad fidem cordibus eorum imprimendam, destinavit.

Hoc, ut multi ferunt, fuit miraculum: rex praedictus habens plures mulieres concubinas, inter alias habebat quamdam christianam. Haec autem nec munis nec precibus potuit averti a vera fide christiana. Tandem rex videns quod nihil proficeret, acquievit ut in lege Dei sui viveret. Postmodum illa de rege concipiens partum partitum ex nigro et albo edidit. Quod rex ut vidit a suo conspectu et consortio eiecit. Mater vero pueri impetravit a rege ut de filio suo faceret quod vellet. Cumque baptizaretur, voluntate Dei mundatus est a nigredine. Rex autem, ut hoc vidit, legem christianorum bonam acclamans baptizare se fecit.

Gilles Le Muisit (sometimes referred to as Aegidii Li Muisis) was abbot of Saint-Martin de Tournai from 18 April 1331 to his death in 1352. He is supposed to have started his historical work *ca.* 1347. Whether Muevini was a successor of Muisit, or the same man, or someone who supplied him with notes, has not been determined.² In any case, since the item appears under the dates 1337 and 1338, both chronicles must be placed after these dates, and the death of Muisit provides the *terminus ante quem* for the appearance of the story in his chronicle.

(C) The child born a formless lump. In two versions of the tale the child is described as being without human shape. The Italian version appears in Giovanni Villani's *Istorie Fiorentine*, under the date of December 1299.³

Come Cassano signore de' Tartari e sua gente sconfissero il Soldano de' Saracini, e prese la Terra santa in Soria.

[In this year, Cassanus, the Emperor of the Tartars, having defeated the Sultan of Egypt and restored all of Syria and Jerusalem, visited the Holy Sepulchre. He also sent ambassadors to Boniface VIII, the King of France and the other kings of Christendom, asking for men to help retain the Holy Land.]

Il detto Cassano fu figliuolo d'Argon Cane, onde addietro in alcuna parte è fatta menzione. Questi fu piccolo e sparuto di sua persona, ma molto fue vertuososo, che fu savio e prò di sua persona, e arveduto in guerra, cortesissimo e largo donatore, amico grandissimo de' Cristiani, e egli e molti di sua buona gente per la fede di Cristo si battezzarono. E la cagione, perchè Cassano divenne Cristiano, non è da tacere, ma da

¹ *Chronicon Muevini*, in *Recueil des Chroniques de Flandre*, ed. J. J. de Smet (Brussels, 1841), Collection de Chroniques Belges Inédites, II, 470.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 219 and 101, and Le Muisit, *op. cit.*, p. 114, n. 1, and *Introd.*, p. xxi.

³ Giovanni Villani (*ca.* 1275-1348), *Istorie Fiorentine* (Milan, 1802). Bk. VIII, Chap. 35, iv, 49-53.

farne notabile memoria in questo nostro trattato ad edificazione della nostra fede per lo bello miracolo, che ne avvenne. Quando Cassano fu fatto Imperadore si fece cercare per avere moglie la più bella femina, che si trovasse, non guardandosi per tesoro nè per altro, e però mandò suoi ambasciadori per tutto il Levante, e intra le altre trovando la figliuola del Re di Erminia avanzare tutte l'altre di bellezza e di vertùe, fue addomandata da' detti ambasciadori al padre. Il padre l'acgettò in quanto piacesse alla pulzella; e lei domandata rispose, come quella, che molto era savia, ch'era contenta al piacere del padre salvo, ch'ella volea essere libera di potere adorare e coltivare il nostro signore Giesù Cristo, bene che 'l marito fosse pagano; e così fu promesso e accettato per li ambasciadori di Cassano. Il Re mandò la figliuola con frate Aiton suo fratello e con altri frati suoi religiosi con ricca compagnia di cavalieri, di donne, e damigelle; e venuta a Cassano molto gli piacque, e fue in sua grazia e amore, e assai tosto concepette di lui, e al tempo debito partorì, come piacque a Dio, la più orrida e orribile creatura, che mai si vedesse, e quasi per poco non avea faccia umana. Cassano contristato di ciò tenne consiglio co' suoi savi, per li quali fu deliberato, che la donna avea commesso adulterio, e fu giudicata, che ella con sua creatura fosse arsa. E apparecchiato il fuoco in presenza di Cassano, a cui molto ne dolea, e di tutto il popolo della città, la donna chiese grazia di volere sua confessione e comunione, siccome fedele cristiana, e la creatura battezzare e fare Cristiano. Fulle conceduta la grazia, e come la creatura fu battezzata nel nome del Padre, del Figliuolo, e dello Spirito santo in presenza del padre e di tutto il popolo, incontanente il fanciullo divenne il più bello e il più grazioso, che mai fosse veduto. Del detto miracolo Cassano fu molto allegro, e con grande festa la 'mperadrice e 'l figliuolo furono liberi da morte; e Cassano e tutto il popolo si battezzarono e fecero Cristiani. E non voglio, che tu lettore ti maravigli perchè scriviamo, che Cassano fosse quasi con duecento milla di Tartari a cavallo, che 'l vero fu così e ciò sapemo da uno Fiorentino e vicino di casa i Bastari nudrito infino al picciolino garzone in sua corte, e di quà per lui al Papa e alli Re de' Cristiani mandato per ambasciadore con altri de' Tartari, che ciò testimoniò, e a noi disse.

The *Istorie* was written between 1300 and 1348, for Villani himself states that he began his history in the former year,¹ and his death in 1348 provides a *terminus ad quem*. Certain considerations, however, may help us to place the probable date of composition of our tale within narrower limits. Villani might have heard the tale in Rome in 1300, and must have heard the story before 1303, the year of Boniface's death, if Villani is telling the truth when he says that he learned it from emissaries to that pope. On the other hand, for a discussion of Tartar customs Villani cites as an authority 'frate Aiton' (Hayton), whose French text, *La Flor des estoires de la Terre d'Orient*, was not presented to the Pope at Poitiers until August of 1307.² Although the section on Tartar customs bears no organic relation to the miracle tale and may perhaps represent only a later expansion of a chapter written earlier, yet the chapter which cites Hayton as a source probably was not written in its present form before 1307; other evidence would seem to indicate that this section may have been written before 1330.³ It seems therefore likely that the tale was

¹ Ibid., Bk. VIII, Chap. 36, iv, 56.

² Hayton, *La Flor des estoires de la Terre d'Orient*, ed. Charles Kohler (Paris, 1906), *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, Doc. Arméniens, II, Introd., pp. xxix and xxxv.

³ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Vita di Dante*, in *Romanische Texte zum Gebrauch für Vorlesungen*..., ed. Lommatzsch and Wagner (Berlin, 1920), p. 75 f., and see V. Lami, 'Di un Compendio Inedito della Cronica di Giovanni Villani...', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 5th Series (Florence, 1890), v, 369-416.

recorded by Villani during the period when it attracted the attention of other chroniclers, of the English poet, and of Scribe A of the Auchinleck MS.

In addition, Villani's narrative has historical importance, for it appears to be the ultimate source from which were derived at least seven additional versions of the tale. The late date of these texts makes quotation from them unwarranted; but reference to them indicates not only the diffusion but the virility of the legend. A translation into Latin was made by Saint Antoninus for his *Historiarum* (ca. 1456);¹ this version was copied verbatim by Raynaldo (d. 1671), for the *Annales Ecclesiastici*.² a condensation based on one of these preceding texts was made by Possinus (d. 1686) for his *Notae* in the *Observationum Pachymerianarum*;³ this latter text was Stritter's source for his tale in the *Memoriae Populorum* (1771);⁴ Howorth in his *History of the Mongols* (1880) refers to the miracle as 'a curious story about Ghazan quoted by Stritter'.⁵ A Germano-Latin text of the tale, in the *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae* of Felice Fabri (d. 1502),⁶ may have come directly from Villani. A French version, from Saint Antoninus, appears in Bergeron's *Un Traicté des Tartares* (1634).⁷

One additional text is very interesting. The Anglo-Latin *Chronicon de Lanercost*⁸ (ca. 1297)⁹ records, under the year 1280, the story of a miraculous change in Eric, King of Norway. Despite the difference in locale, the episode is remarkably similar:

Reliquerat hoc tempore rex Norwagiæ defunctus filium sibi successorem appellatum Magnum [Eric II], qui audiens regem Scotiæ generosam et formosam ac morigerosam habere filiam virginem, insuper et suæ ætati competentem, quoniam erat et ipse annorum circiter formosus adultus octodecem, quiescere nequivit donec missis his nunciis solemnibus, tam religiosis quam potentibus, consortem conjugii et collegam

¹ Sanctus Antoninus (1389-1459), *Historiarum*... (1527), III, Titulo xx, cap. viii, § 9. I am grateful to the Dominican House of Studies in Washington, D.C., for permitting me to examine in New York their copy of this very rare volume; see J. B. Walker, *The 'Chronicles' of St Antoninus* (Washington, D.C., 1933), p. 24.

² Ed. J. D. Mansi (Lucae, 1749), IV, 320-1.

³ Georgius Pachymeres (1242-1310), *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. and trans. Petrus Possinus, *Corpus Scriptorum Byzantinæ* (Bonn, 1835), XXV, 766.

⁴ J. G. Stritter, *Memoriae Populorum, olim ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum... e Scriptis Historiæ Byzantinæ* (Petropoli, 1771), III, 1093, n.z.

⁵ Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols* (London, 1880), III, 486.

⁶ Ed. C. D. Hassler (Stuttgart, 1843-49), Bibliothek Literarischen Vereins, III, 314 ff.; trans. by Aubrey Stewart, *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri* (London, 1897), II, pt. 2, pp. 373-7.

⁷ Pierre Bergeron, *Un Traicté des Tartares, de leurs origines, mœurs, Religion*... (Paris, 1634), p. 113 f.

⁸ Ed. Joseph Stevenson for the Maitland Club (1839), p. 104; trans. by Sir Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913), p. 21.

⁹ See A. G. Little, 'The Authorship of the Lanercost Chronicle', *English Historical Review*, XXXI (1916), 273 f.; 'The Authorship of the Lanercost Chronicle', *English Historical Review*, XXXII (1917), 48; 'The Chronicles of the Mendicant Friars', *British Society of Franciscan Studies*, Extra Series, III (1932), 96.

regni eam expeteret. Verum antequam finem hujus matrimonii sermone concludam, referam ad laudem Dei et servi sui, quod ab ipsis nunciis de suo rege relatum attendere potent affectus hominum. Pater hujus regis religionem sancti Francisci plurimum diligens, filios ejus plurimum coluit, ac in eorum scholis sacræ theologiæ non segniter intendit, ubi et sibi mausoleum statuit. Accidit ut regina die sancti nominati primum ederet partum, pudibundum regno magis quam jucundum, ursi non viri præferens pignus, utpote frustum informe carnis, non filium. Quod cum regi perlatum fuisset, ille fide plenus ait, 'involve in the mundo et hora conficiendi superpone sancti Francisci altario'. Quod cum impletum fuisset venientes in fine missæ, ut reciperent quod reposuerant, puerum formosum intus vagientem reperiunt, et Deo gratias læti et sancto referunt. Is adultus factus Domicellam, ut dictum est, maritaggio petiit, et licet multum esset animo puellæ contrarium necnon parentum et amicorum, eo quod alibi multo facilius et decentius copulasse potuisset, connubium, solius regis patris sui proposito hoc initum est pactum ut cum ea daret septemdecim millia marcarum, principaliter pro federe nuptiarum, accessorie vero pro redemptione juris Insularum. Imposita est igitur navi apud . . . cum multo apparatu et famulatu in crastino sancti Laurentii, et cum ingenti vitæ periculo, quod nocte assumptionis sacræ Virginis sustinuerant, summo mane dictæ solemnitatis apud Bergis vela submiserunt. Ipsa postmodum solemniter coronata et de eximia parentela coram omnibus proclamata, tam gratiose erga regem et suos se habuit quod mores in melius mutavit, idioma Gallicum et Anglicum eum docuit, et de indumentis et esculentis honestius instituit; unam tantum filiam ex ea suscepit, quæ modico post matrem tempore vixit.

As the dating of these MSS. has indicated, the tale of the miraculous birth and the conversion of the Tartar khan may have been recorded as early as 1300 in a letter to the King of Aragon; certainly before 1310, it had appeared in chronicles in England and Germany, and probably in a chronicle in Italy. We note with surprise the absence of a version in a French or Franco-Latin manuscript which can be definitely dated before 1337. That some such version did exist we may feel reasonably sure, not only from the wide diffusion of the tale during the first decade of the fourteenth century, but from the fact that a correspondent of King Jayme heard in France and then reported by letter the details of the miracle.

Along with these facts, the points of similarity between the English poem and all the other versions make it improbable that the English poet was dependent solely on the stories as told in the Anglo-Latin *Flores Historiarum* or that variants from the *Flores* are due only to the poet's own ingenuity; the similarities indicate rather that he was familiar with at least one other version of the tale, into which had been introduced the religious symbolism of black and white, and that he was not alone in describing the child as shapeless. If the discovery of these related analogues reduces the stature of the English poet as an originator of details of plot, it confirms the conclusion that the English poet or his reviser produced the most romantic and edifying version of the tale which has yet come to light.

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LEONARDO BRUNI ARETINO AND EARLY ENGLISH HUMANISM

'AVEVA grandissima riputazione in Inghilterra e massime col duca di Vorcestri':¹ this statement by Vespasiano da Bisticci in his biography of Leonardo Bruni, commonly known as Leonardo Aretino, is confirmed by other sources, which also disclose the popularity of Bruni's works in fifteenth-century England. Bruni's literary productions began to be known here early in the fifteenth century. His friendship with a not better identified 'Thomas of England'² may perhaps have first opened the gates of this country to his writings, for it seems quite likely that Thomas may have brought home, if indeed he returned to England, some works by the scholar that had aroused his admiration in Florence, and mentioned his achievement at least to some of his friends. Even if this were not so, it is known for certain that some of Bruni's treatises and translations from the Greek were to be found in England during the first half of the fifteenth century, and that they enjoyed enough authority here to be quoted by writers alongside with classical authors and church fathers.

The first Englishman to quote from Bruni's works was John Whethamstede, Abbot of St Albans.³ Whethamstede was a tireless compiler of encyclopaedias⁴ as well as an omnivorous reader, and the writings of Bruni which came to his notice aroused his interest at once. What interested him most in them was not so much the formal beauty of Bruni's Latinity as the information to be found there, which he rightly gauged would provide useful material for his compilations. Hence his approach to Bruni was not so much an attempt to assimilate the neo-classical values of Italian humanism, as a desire for more information on things classical and for access to some Greek authors, knowledge of whose

¹ V. da Bisticci, *Vite di Uomini Illustri*, ed. A. Bartoli, Firenze, 1859, p. 436. Vespasiano writes *Vorcestri* (Worcester) meaning 'Gloucester'. On Bruni cf. especially H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino*, Leipzig, 1928; L. Bertalot, 'Forschungen über Leonardo Bruni Aretino', *Archivum Romanicum*, xv (1931), pp. 284-323; L. Bertalot, 'Zur Bibliographie des Leonardus Brunus Aretinus', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, xxviii (1937-8), pp. 268-85.

² L. Bruni, *Epistolarum Libri VIII*, ed. L. Mehus, Florentiae, 1741, I, p. 55. On Thomas cf. A. Gherardi, *Statuti della Università e Studio Fiorentino*, Firenze, 1881, p. 364.

³ On Whethamstede cf. H. Hodge, *The Abbey of St Albans under John Whethamstede* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis; a copy of this work is in the University Library, Manchester); E. F. Jacob, *Florida Verborum Venustas*, Manchester, 1933, pp. 5-17; W. F. Schirmer, *Der Englische Frühhumanismus*, Leipzig, 1931, pp. 82-98; R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, 1941, pp. 30-8.

⁴ On which cf. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

works would have been denied to him but for Bruni's Latin renderings of them.

Amongst the works of Bruni which were known to Whethamstede there appears to have been the *Cicero Novus*¹ and the *Commentaria Tria de Primo Bello Punico*,² as well as his Latin versions of Xenophon's *De Tyranno*³ and of some of Plutarch's *Lives*.⁴ The latinized Plutarch's *Lives* were obtained in 1437 from an Italian friend, the Papal Collector Piero del Monte;⁵ how the other works came to his notice is not known, but it seems likely that he secured copies of them from friends, or just glanced at them in the library of his friend and patron Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who was the possessor of several of Bruni's works.⁶ On the other hand, as the Xenophon had been finished before May 1403,⁷ and the *Cicero Novus* and the *Commentaria* had been completed respectively in 1415 and 1421,⁸ it is not out of the question that he may have acquired manuscripts of them in Italy when he visited that country in 1423.⁹

Whethamstede did not limit himself merely to reading the writings of Bruni which came into his hands. Their subject-matter furnished him with material for his Encyclopaedias, as is shown by his frequent mention of Bruni's works amongst his authorities.¹⁰ Moreover, familiarity with his writings had made Whethamstede an enthusiastic admirer of Bruni, and although his mediaeval upbringing made him unable to appreciate the finer trends of the Italian's scholarship, he was none the less fully conscious of the importance of Bruni in the world of letters. It was because of this that he included Bruni amongst the famous men whose biographies form part of the subject-matter of his *Granarium*. This biography of Bruni¹¹ consists mostly of a résumé of the subject-matter of his *Commentaria Tria de Primo Bello Punico*, and brings nothing new to our knowledge of that humanist. On the other hand it is valuable in revealing to us the angle from which Whethamstede viewed Bruni's achievement. In him Whethamstede did not admire the discoverer of

¹ MS. (British Museum) Cotton Tib. D. V., pt. 1, ff. 146v, 173v.

² MS. (British Museum) Arundel, no. 11, ff. 92r-99v.

³ MS. (British Museum) Cotton Tib. D. V., pt. 1, f. 169v.

⁴ The lives of Anthony, Demosthenes, the Gracchi, Paulus Aemilius, and Sertorius (MS. (British Museum) Cotton Tib. D. V., pt. 1, ff. 47r, 62r, 114r; Nero C. VI, f. 21r).

⁵ MS. (Vatican Library) Vat. Lat. no. 2694, f. 125r.

⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 446.

⁷ Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 163; Bertalot, *Forschungen über Leonardo Bruni Aretino*, p. 298.

⁹ For his visit to Italy cf. *Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani a J. Amundesham*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series), London, 1870, 1, pp. 130-5, 138-47.

¹⁰ *Supra*, nn. 1-3.

¹¹ MS. (British Museum) Arundel, no. 11, ff. 92r-9v. On the *Granarium* cf. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 35, n. 2.

ancient texts, or the famous humanist. It was not the high standards of Bruni's Latin, 'the best since Lactantius' according to Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, that aroused Whethamstede's admiration, but rather the fact that by turning Greek texts into Latin he had opened the road to Greek letters to the Abbot's curiosity.

The following is the biographical section of the article on Bruni in the *Granarium*.¹ What has been omitted, which forms its largest part.² is merely an account of the subject-matter of the *Commentaria Tria de Primo Bello Punico*.

Leonardus Aretinus vir in utraque lingua, greca uidelicet et latina satis sufficienter eruditus, eo tempore quo famose urbis florencie cancellarius steterat, multa opera notabilia partim translacione, partim recollecione, partim uero nouella tradicionē calamo cultissimo conscribebat. Inter que ex dictis et scriptis fabii romani, siluii peni, polibiique megapolitani, uelut ex totidem texencium filis quandam contexuit telam historie, in qua omnia et facta primi belli punici noscitur multum dilucide declarare. Et est huius sue historie in tres libellulos subdiuise, hec in breuibz tota substantia materialis.

If Whethamstede's appreciation of Bruni has been limited on the whole to his activities as a translator, the approach to Bruni's writings of Whethamstede's friend and patron, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was not very different from it.³ How the Duke came first to hear of Bruni is not known. It is, however, not improbable that he was first introduced to Bruni's writings through Zenone da Castiglione, Bishop of Bayeux, who already possessed some of Bruni's works in 1433,⁴ and was a friend of Gloucester.⁵ Already in 1433 Gloucester had read Bruni's Latin text of Aristotle's *Ethics*,⁶ a version which had become popular even outside Italy shortly after its completion in 1416-17.⁷ So much was Gloucester impressed by this translation that he wrote to Bruni expressing his admiration for the Latin *Ethics*, and asking him to turn the *Politics* also into Latin. At the same time Gloucester, who was fully aware of the political potentialities of polished Latin, rightly realized the prestige which would accrue to him if a scholar of Bruni's calibre were to serve him as secretary or chancellor, and accordingly he extended to him in the same letter an invitation to come over to England.⁸ Only the first

¹ MS. (British Museum), Arundel, no. 11, f. 92r.

² Ibid., ff. 92v-99v.

³ On Gloucester and Bruni cf. K. H. Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, London, 1907, pp. 352-4; Schirmer, op. cit., pp. 27-8, 33-4, Weiss, op. cit., pp. 46-9.

⁴ Bertalot, 'Forschungen über Leonardo Bruni Aretino', p. 321.

⁵ Weiss, op. cit., pp. 49-53.

⁶ Ibid., p. 47.

⁷ Baron, op. cit., p. 164. The *Ethics* in Bruni's version were, for instance, to be found in Rheims Chapter Library in 1426. This copy, now MS. Bibliothèque du Chapitre, Rheims, no. 893, was almost certainly presented to the Chapter Library by Cardinal Guillaume Fillastre. Its presence in Rheims in 1426 is revealed by a note on one of the fly-leaves.

⁸ Weiss, op. cit., p. 47.

offer was accepted by Bruni,¹ and eventually, in 1438, the latinized *Politics* reached Gloucester.² By this time, however, a disagreement, doubtless on the subject of remuneration, had started between Gloucester and Bruni, with the result that the latter in disgust withdrew his original dedication to the Duke and re-dedicated the *Politics* to Pope Eugenius IV.³

Thanks to his connexion with Bruni, Gloucester was able to secure several of his writings from him besides the Latin *Politics*. Other works by Bruni were probably purchased in Italy for the Duke by Zenone da Castiglione, who while in Bologna was asked by Gloucester to secure versions from the Greek by Bruni and Guarino da Verona for his library.⁴ As a result Gloucester's collection came to include a considerable number of Bruni's literary productions. Amongst these he possessed the versions of the *Ethics*⁵ and *Politics*,⁵ and Latin texts of Plato's *Phaedrus*,⁶ of works by Aeschines⁷ and St Basil,⁷ of Xenophon's *De Tyranno*,⁷ of some of Plutarch's *Lives*⁷ and of Boccaccio's *Tale of Tancredi and Ghismonda*,⁸ as well as original treatises like the *Isagogicon Moralis Disciplinae*⁸ and the *Oratio in Hypocrisis*.⁸

While Whethamstede was the first English literary man to make use of Bruni's works, Gloucester was doubtless instrumental in making these works more easily available to English scholars. Through his generous donations of books to Oxford University,⁹ he was responsible for the introduction of Bruni's writings in academic circles which, though still dominated by scholasticism, were nevertheless not insensitive to the refinements of humanist culture. Now Bruni was exactly the type of scholar to appeal to the more enlightened type of schoolman. As his Latin Aristotle offered a far better interpretation of Aristotelian thought than the mediaeval renderings of the writings of that philosopher, it soon commanded the attention of English schoolmen. Moreover, the classical polish of his Latin caused his works to be regarded as very desirable models for the improvement of one's Latinity. Such was doubtless the opinion of Thomas Bekynton, who did not hesitate to include some of Bruni's letters in one of his formularies.¹⁰ It was from such standpoints that Bruni's literary productions were appreciated in fifteenth-century England; it was above all as an interpreter of Aristotle and as a master of style that he owed that reputation which was commented on by

¹ Weiss, op. cit., p. 48.

² Ibid., loc. cit.

³ Ibid., loc. cit.

⁴ MS. (Biblioteca Riccardiana, Firenze), no. 827, f. 31v.

⁵ Weiss, op. cit., p. 64.

⁶ Ibid., loc. cit.

⁷ Ibid., loc. cit., p. 49, n. 2.

⁸ Ibid., op. cit., pp. 64 n. 4, 65. He also owned an unidentified work by Bruni (ibid., p. 64, n. 4).

⁹ On which cf. ibid., pp. 66-7.

¹⁰ Now MS. (British Museum) Cotton Tib. B. VI.

Vespasiano da Bisticci.¹ That he should also be famed as a moral philosopher was an outcome of this. But the real achievement of Bruni, his activities as a humanist, his improvement of cultural standards, were on the whole to escape his English contemporaries: humanist values were far too subtle to find appreciation amongst schoolmen whose only intellectual equipment was provided by the mediaeval schools.

As the fifteenth century drew on Bruni's authority in England continued to increase. Early in the second part of the century one can find Thomas Chaundler, Warden of New College, Oxford, giving Bruni as an authority for the interpretation of the word *eutrapelia*.² At the same time appreciation of Bruni's works as stylistic models was steadily rising. In 1459 some of his versions were copied into a formulary at Christ Church, Canterbury, by the monk Henry Cranebroke.³ The writings of Bruni preserved in Oxford amongst the books presented by Gloucester were transcribed by fellows of Oxford colleges,⁴ and other copies of his works were preserved in the libraries of Cambridge colleges,⁵ while scholars interested in polite letters like William Grey, Bishop of Ely,⁶ John Gunthorpe,⁶ Richard Bole,⁶ Robert Flemmyng,⁶ James Goldwell, Bishop of Norwich,⁶ John Shirwood, Bishop of Durham,⁶ and William of Worcester,⁷ eagerly collected his works in their libraries. At the same time preference for Bruni's translations over the mediaeval ones becomes more and more evident. John Doget based his commentary on the *Phaedo* not on the current twelfth-century version by Henry Aristippus,⁸ but on that by Bruni,⁹ and even such a conservative as Sir John Fortescue did not hesitate to recur to Bruni's authority to illustrate points in his legal works.¹⁰ But perhaps the best proof of the prestige and popularity enjoyed by Bruni's literary productions in this country is provided by the printing of his text of the *Ethics* at Oxford in 1479,¹¹ a fact which suggests that by that time his version had finally displaced the supremacy of the mediaeval translations.

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 443.

² MS. New Coll. Oxford, no. 288, f. 45r.

³ Now MS. (British Museum) Royal 10. B. IX.

⁴ Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, n. 1, 175, n. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-4, 96, 103-4, 126, 152, 177.

⁷ Worcester quotes the *Cicero Novus* in one of his notebooks (MS. (British Museum) Cotton Julius F. VII., ff. 67v-68r) and very probably owned a MS. of it.

⁸ An edition of Aristippus's version by L. Metelli will appear shortly in the *Corpus Platonis Medii Aevi*.

⁹ MS. (British Museum) Add. no. 10,344, f. 6r.

¹⁰ *The Works of Sir John Fortescue, Knight*, ed. Lord Clermont, London, 1869, vol. 1, *passim*. Fortescue quotes from Bruni's *Isagogeicon*.

¹¹ By Theodorick Rood (E. Gordon-Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books*, Oxford, 1917, no. 32).

The popularity of Bruni's writings in England during the fifteenth century is above all interesting in showing the English approach towards humanism. That Bruni was appreciated merely as a stylist, translator, and moral philosopher discloses the various difficulties which had to be overcome before the spirit of the Renaissance could be understood in this country.

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NICHOLAS BRETON'S AUTHORSHIP OF 'MARIE MAGDALENS LOUE' AND 'THE PASSION OF A DISCONTENTED MINDE'

I

THERE is considerable confusion in the *Short Title Catalogue* about the entry in the *Stationers' Register* of *Marie Magdalens Loue*. Under Breton's name this work is given as 'ent. 20th Sept., 1595. For later editions see under *A Solemne Passion*'. It was *A Solemne Passion* that was entered on 20 September; and this poem was first published with, and not under the title of, *Marie Magdalens Loue*, which John Danter had entered in the *Stationers' Register* with its full title 'Marie Magdalens loue vppon the xx chapter of John from the first verse to the eighteenth' on 24 July 1595. The *Short Title Catalogue* attributes this entry to *Marie Magdalens Lamentation for the Losse of her Master Jesus*, printed in 1601 by Adam Islip for Edward White.

The only copy of *Marie Magdalens Loue* and *A Solemne Passion of the Soules Loue* (1595) is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library. The Rev. T. Corser described the volume in *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, and found that it 'much resembled Robert Southwell's *Marie Magdalens Funerall Tears*; they are both written in the style of the devotional treatises published by the English Roman Catholics resident abroad in the Colleges at Douay and St Omers, and are full of warm and passionate flights, tinctured with the peculiar tenets of that religion'.¹ In the introductory notice of Breton, Corser had already stated that 'It is evident from several of his writings that Breton was a member of the ancient faith, and some of them are impregnated with all the fervour and enthusiastic raptures of a worshipper of the Virgin'. These remarks were quite enough to frighten a fervent Anglican like Grosart away from *Marie Magdalens Loue*. We are told that Breton was 'an out-and-out Protestant'; and, after giving all the anti-papist passages assembled from Breton's works by himself and by Dr Brinsley Nicholson,² Grosart ends in triumph 'more cannot be required'. *Marie Magdalens Loue* 'was overhastily ascribed to Breton by Thomas Corser from the mere accidental binding up of his copy along with Breton's *A Solemne Passion*'.³ Probably Grosart never saw a copy:⁴

¹ Thomas Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica* (1867), Part III.

² *Notes & Queries*, I, 501-2.

³ A. B. Grosart, Introduction to *The Works of Nicholas Breton*.

⁴ In Grosart's edition of Breton's works *A Solemne Passion* is reprinted from the 1623 edition.

he gives the title incorrectly as 'Marie Magdalenes Loue A Practical Discourse'. The unique copy was at Britwell when he made his edition of Breton's works, along with the other Breton items that he was unable to see. If he had seen it, Grosart would have known that 'mere accidental binding up' was not a correct description of the union of *Marie Magdalens Loue* and *A Solemne Passion*. There are separate title-pages to the two books; but the signatures are continuous throughout. The printer, John Danter, evidently regarded them as suitable for the same reader: nor is there any detectable difference between the Roman Catholic 'warm and passionate flights'¹ of *Marie Magdalens Loue*, and the Anglican 'white-heat of religious passion' that Grosart finds in *A Solemne Passion*. To prove Breton to be the author of *Marie Magdalens Loue* would not necessarily be to prove that he was a Roman Catholic.

Against Breton's authorship, it must be said that the signature 'Nicholas Britten' at the end of *A Solemne Passion* seems to refer to the poem only, and not to the preceding prose tract. Also, subsequent printers of *A Solemne Passion* (John Danter was only responsible for the first edition) omitted *Marie Magdalens Loue*; and John Danter's press was seized in 1596 for printing a Roman Catholic book of devotion called *Jesus Psalter*.²

In addition to his many devotional poems beginning with *The Pilgrimage To Paradise* (1592), Breton wrote two religious prose works: *Auspicante Iehoua. Maries Exercise* (1597) and *Druine Considerations* (1608).³ I suspect that there were further editions of *Auspicante Iehoua*, as it was transferred to Thomas Snodham on 17 June 1609, and to W. Stansby on 23 February 1626. In both cases, the next title in the list of books to be transferred is *Maries Meditations*: this was entered to Thomas Este on 30 December 1595, though the entry is wrongly ascribed to *Maries Exercise* in the *Short Title Catalogue*. The Mary of *Auspicante Iehoua. Maries Exercise* was of course Mary, Countess of Pembroke, to whom Breton dedicated *The Pilgrimage To Paradise Ioynd With The Countesse of Penbrookes Loue*, printed at Oxford by Joseph Barnes in 1592. In the address 'To the Gentlemen students and Scholers of Oxforde' Breton explains that

¹ Thomas Corser, op. cit.

² R. B. McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers*.

³ A probably similar book once in the possession of J. F. Payne (*Notes & Queries*, vi, viii, 386), and described by S. Lee in the article on Breton in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as 'in private hands bound in red vellum with Queen Elizabeth's crest stamped upon it in gold', is 'The Soules Heauenly Exercise, set down in diuerse godly meditations both prose and verse, by Nicholas Breton Gent. London. 1601'. 'The soules heauenlye exercyse' was entered to Master Leake on 1 December 1601. It was dedicated to William Rider, Lord Mayor of London, father-in-law of Sir Thomas Lake to whom Breton dedicated his *Druine Considerations*.

The occasion that made me first enter into this action, was to acquaint the honest mindes of vertuous dispositions, with the heauenly Meditations, of an honourable Lady.

Was the entry to Thomas Este in 1595 of *Maries Meditations* a London edition of these 'heauenly Meditations of an honourable Lady'?¹ There is a prefatory letter from John Case, M.D., the musician. 'To my honest friende *Master Nicholas Breton*', in which Case compares the true love of Mary Magdalen to the love for the divine shown by the Countess of Pembroke. Breton is inclined to confuse the two Marys: in *The Countesse of Penbrookes Loue*, he represents the Countess, perhaps a little too zealously for the lady's liking, as lamenting her sins, and asking forgiveness:

Looke on thy Mary with her bitter teares,
That washt thy feete and wipte thē with her heares.

In *The Countesse of Penbrookes Passion*, the Countess is made to recall that 'Marye Magdalen wept for her offence' and to recount her past sins and follies

...while I sit with Mary at the graue
As ful of grefe as euer loue maye liue.

From the dedication to *The Pilgrimage To Paradise*, we learn that Breton, the Countess' 'poore vnworthy poet', 'by the indiscretion of youth, the malice of enuy, and the disgrace of ingratitude had vtterly perished' if it had not been for the Countess' helping hand. *Wits Trenchmour. In a conference betwixt a Scholler and an Angler* (1597) is dedicated to the Countess' kinsman 'William Harbert of the Red Castle in Mountgombryshire, Esquire', 'In the humble seruice that in bounden dutie that I owe vnto your honourable house'. Breton pays an indirect compliment to the Countess by making one of the ladies in the story say 'I tooke my Booke of *Da Plisses* in my hand, and meant to contemplate some diuine contentations'.² At the end of the dialogue is a passage which, I think rightly, has been taken to be autobiographical. The scholar describes how he had been taken into the service of a beautiful lady only second to the Queen herself; but that

by the faction of the malicious, the deceitful working of the enuious & the desert of his owne vnworthinesse, finding in the deceiuing of this his bright sun, the sinking of his too happy fauour, supping vp his sorrowe to himselfe, taking leaue for a time,

¹ *The Passions of the Spirit* (1599), entered to Thomas Este on 30 May 1594, is a printed version of Breton's poem (MSS. in the British Museum and Plymouth Public Library) *The Countesse of Penbrookes Passion*. The three titles relating to the Countess of Pembroke, *Maries Exercise*, *Maries Meditations* and *The Passions of the Spirit* were transferred together to Thomas Snodham on 17 June 1609. See Jean Robertson, 'The Passions of the Spirit (1599) and Nicholas Breton', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, III, No. 1, pp. 69-75 (October 1939).

² Philippe de Mornay, Lord Du Plessis, *Discourse of Life and Death done into English by the Countesse of Penbrooke*, had appeared in 1591.

to trauaile about a little idle busines, in a cold snowy day passing ouer an vnknowne plaine, not looking well to his way, or beeing ordained to the miserie of such misfortune, fell so deepe downe into a saw-pitte,¹ that he shall repent the fall while he liues: for neuer since daring to presume, but in prayers to thinke on his fair Princesse

The angler comforts the scholar by assuring him that, if he is constant, the lady will take him back into favour:

for I am perswaded that shee that is made of so many exceedings, cannot but at her good time make thee happy in her comfort, who though a while shee shut vp the hand of her bounty, yet will send thee a litle of that Quintessence, that will saue thee from a deadly wound, howsoeuer sorrow possesse thee. And therefore be her bead-man in thy prayers, till she make employment of thy further seruice.

These remarks about prayers were evidently intended to herald *Auspicante Iehoua. Maries Exercise* (1597), which Breton dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke. This dedication implies that Breton is not altogether out of favour with his patroness; but that his fortunes have sunk. Breton signs himself 'Your La: sometime vnworthy Poet, and now and euer poore Beadman'.

There are one or two points of resemblance between this volume of prayers and *Marie Magdalens Loue. Auspicante Iehoua* was written for the Countess of Pembroke, and for women in general, as the preface 'To the Ladies and Gentlewomen Readers' indicates: each prayer is written 'upon' some woman to whom Christ had shown especial favour for her humility and faith. *Marie Magdalens Loue* is addressed to both men and women; but the author was obviously thinking chiefly of the lessons contained in Mary's life for women, as this extract shows, emphasizing the faith and humility which is praised in *Auspicante Iehoua*:

O would to God that all women would learne this Modestie of *Mary*! then wold they not so ofte fall into such presumption, as is manie times, a cause of their confusion, & in steed of laughing with *Michol* to see *David* daunce before the Arke of God, they would weep with *Mary* at the Sepulcher of Christ: Modestie would teach them to come to the Church with more deuotion, and to heare the worde with more reuerence, than I feare too manie doe now a daies: how vncomely a thing it is in a maiden, to be giggling and laughing, and how vngratious a thing it is for a woman, to be tighing and babling in the Temple of God, at the time of the reading or preaching of his hohe Gospell: Alas what will they bee thought on among the wise? the one but an idle gossip, and the other a foolish girle: but here you see *Mary* did none of these, and as I said before, such as *Mary* will doe none of these: Learne then of *Mary* to loue Christ, to bee Constant in louing Christ, and to vse Modestie in your loue to Christ.

The penultimate prayer in *Auspicante Iehoua* is entitled 'A praier vpon *Mary Magdalens* weeping at the Sepulcher: Iohn xvi.² The fruit thereof: the vertue of constancy, in the loue of the faithful', which covers the same ground with the same closeness to the biblical text as *Marie*

¹ Grosart interprets this as a confession of drunkenness.

² An obvious error for xx.

Magdalens Loue 'vppon the twenty Chapter of Iohn, from the first verse to the eighteenth'. In 1601 Breton again dedicated a religious poem, *A Diuine Poeme diuided into two Partes: The Rauisht Soule, and the Blessed Weeper*, to the Countess of Pembroke. 'The blessed weeper' of the second poem was of course Mary Magdalen: and the story of her weeping at the sepulchre is told with the same exactitude as it was in *Marie Magdalens Loue*, and the same moral lessons are deduced from it. Another religious poem published in the same year, *An Excellent Poeme vpon the longing of a blessed heart*, besides several parallel passages to lines in *The Rauisht Soule*, contains two verses on Mary Magdalen.¹

Stylistically, *Marie Magdalens Loue* resembles Breton's other prose works: in *The Figure of Foure*² Breton indulges in what Professor Greenough calls his quadrumania;³ that is, the arrangement of his ideas in the pattern of four. *The Figure of Foure* is made up entirely of sentences such as

There are foure sundrye kindes of Loues: the loue of God, the loue of men, the loue of women and the loue of children.

And so also in *Marie Magdalens Loue*, the commentary on most of the verses begins in the same form as the first one:

In this first verse I find foure cheefe notes to bee well marked, and kept in memorie. First the person named, who it was, and of what condition: Secondlie, the time, Thirdlie the place, and fourthly what was there seene and done.⁴

In *Marie Magdalens Loue*, we are asked:

Is it not too true in manie places, it is daylie seene, the childe is sicke of the Mother, and wisheth his Father in his graue, ere he can learne to bee a son, or leaue to be a Childe?

- ¹ When *Mary Magdalene*, so full of sinne,
As made her heart a harbour of all thought,
Felt once the grace of God to enter in,
And drue them out that her destruction sought,
Her soule was then to *Iesus* loue so wrought,
As that with teares in true affect did proue
The pleasing longing of the Spirits loue.
In griefe she went all weeping to his graue;
Longing to see him, or aliuie or dead;
And would not cease vntill her loue might haue
Her longed fruite, on which her spirit fed;
One blessed crumme of that sweet heavenly bread
Of Angels food, but of her Lord a sight,
Whose heavenly presence prou'd her soules delight.

² Ent. 1597: the only surviving copy of Part I, dated 1631, is in the H. E. Huntington Library. Grosart prints Part II only from the 1636 edition.

³ C. N. Greenough, 'Nicholas Breton, character-writer and quadrumaniac', *Anniversary Papers for George Lyman Kittredge* (1913).

⁴ The arrangement was used by other religious writers: e.g. Robert Southwell's *A foure-fold meditation on the foure last things*; Dekker's *Foure Birds of Noahs Arke*; and Thomas Nash's *Quaternio, or a fourfold way to liue well*.

Ingratitude to parents was for Breton a symbol of the corruption of the age: in *A Poste with a Packet of Madde Letters* 'children are sicke of the parents';¹ and one of the fruits of murmuring is that 'the childe is sicke of the father, the wife of the husband, the brother of the sister, and one friend of another'.²

The distinction between divine love 'and that lewd humor of mis-tearmed loue' is constantly drawn in Breton's religious poems. The homely description of events that men and women will rise early to witness, when they will not get up early to serve Christ, has many echoes in Breton's prose works:

a light beleefe will make many men and women to runne them selues out of breath to see a maygame, a Beare-bayting or a bauble not worth the looking after . . . to runne with wicked people to see a foole in a play: . . . manie runne after their dogges, hunting all day for a hare, and perhaps go without her at night, others run their horses for the bell, and tire them, or kill them ere night, many run for a wager, that breake their hart in the course, that they are neuer able to goe againe: too manie runne from their Countries, that sield or neuer returne good Christians.³

To sum up, the reasons for supposing Breton to be the author of *Marie Magdalens Loue* are: that it was printed by John Danter with Breton's *A Solemne Passion of the Soules Loue*; that Breton wrote much of Mary Magdalen during 1592-1601, including a poem devoted to her, *The Blessed Weeper*; that he also wrote two other devotional prose works—one, like *Marie Magdalens Loue*, in the manner of a dissertation (*Druine Considerations*), the other a small volume of prayers including one upon Mary Magdalen (*Auspicante Iehoua*); that the style and sentiments are such as may be found in Breton's other works. The only valid objection to the attribution of this work to Breton is that *Marie Magdalens Loue* was not reprinted with *A Solemne Passion*; but this may well be an indication of lack of popular demand, rather than lack of authenticity.

II

Only one copy of the first edition of *The Passion of a Discontented Minde* (1601), printed by Valentine Simmes for John Bailly, now exists.⁴ It was described and assigned to Breton by Corser,⁵ but Grosart and J. Payne-Collier,⁶ who edited *The Passion of a Discontented Minde*, denied

¹ Part I (1602).

² *A Murmur* (1607).

³ Is this a reference to Englishmen who went to the Continent and became converted to Roman Catholicism—and therefore a proof that *Marie Magdalens Loue* is not a Roman Catholic tract?

⁴ In Harvard University Library; not in the *S.T.C.*

⁵ Thomas Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, III, 43.

⁶ *Illustrations of Old English Literature* (1816), p. 6.

the ascription because it was not printed by a stationer whom Breton was in the habit of employing, did not bear his name or initials, nor contain Breton's 'mint-mark' words. In reply to these arguments it should first be stated that in the previous year Valentine Simmes had printed *Pasquils Mad-Cap* for Thomas Bushell, and *Pasquils Passe, and passeth not* for John Smethwick. Thomas Creede, who printed the 1602 edition of *The Passion of a Discontented Minde* for John Baily, in the same year printed *The Mothers blessing* for John Smethwick, and *A Dialogue full of pith and pleasure* for John Browne in 1603. Secondly, the absence of Breton's name and initials from *No Whippinge*, also published in 1601, and from *The Countesse of Penbrookes Passion*, did not prevent Grosart from acknowledging these genuine works of Breton; and I can only wonder that he failed to observe the close affinity between this latter poem (printed as *The Passions of the Spirit*)¹ and *The Passion of a Discontented Minde*. Both these similarly entitled poems, written in a 6-line stanza, are overburdened with a sense of sin; compare these two verses:

Oh would my soule wer made a sea of teares,
 Myn eyes might watch, and neuer more be sleapinge;
 My harte might beare the payne all pleasur weares,
 So I might se hime once yett in my weepinge;
 When ioyfull voyce, this songe might neuer cease:
 My Sauoure's sight hath sett my soule in peace.
The Countesse of Penbrookes Passion 41.

O could mine eyes send trickling teares amaine,
 Neuer to cease till my eternall night,
 Till this eye-floud his mercie might obtaine,
 Whom my defaults haue banisht from his sight:
 Then could I blesse my happy time of crying,²
 But ah too soone my barrē springs are drying.
The Passion of a Discontented Minde.

In both poems, the sinner compares himself to Mary Magdalen:

And while I sitt with Marye, at the graue,
 As ful of greife as euer loue may liue;
The Countesse of Penbrookes Passion 65.

And at thy feet, with *Mary*, knocke for grace,
 Though wanting *Maries* tears to wet my face.
The Passion of a Discontented Minde.³

The next ensuing verses may be compared with two verses in *An Excellent Poeme vpon the longing of a blessed heart*, published in the same year:

¹ *Huntington Library Quarterly*, III, 69-75.

² Cf. *The Blessed Weeper*, 'Oh that my teares kept number with my sinnes'.

³ Mary Magdalen provided one of Breton's favourite illustrations, ut supra.

When *Mary Magdalene*, so full of sinne,
 As made her heart a harbour of ill thought,
 Felt once the grace of God to enter in,
 And drive them out that her destruction sought,
 Her soule was then to *Jesus* loue so wrought,
 As that with teares in true affect did proue
 The pleasing longing of the Spirits loue.

In grieve she went all weeping to his graue;
 Longing to see him, or alive or dead;
 And would not cease vntill her loue might haue
 Her longed fruite, on which her spirit fed;
 One blessed crumme of that sweet heavenly bread
 Of Angels' food, but of her Lord a sight,
 Whose heavenly presence prou'd her soules delight.

An Excellent Poeme.

She, happy sinner, saw her life misse-led,
 At sight whereof, her inward heart did bleed,
 To witnes with her, outward teares were shed.
 O blessed Saint, and o most blessed deed:
 But wretched I, that see more sinnes than she,
 Nor grieue within, nor yet weepe outwardly.

When she had lost thy presence but one day,
 The want was such, her heart could not sustaine;
 But to thy tombe alone she tooke her way,
 And there with sighes and teares she did complaine:
 Nor from her sense, once moou'd or stirr'd was shee,
 Vntill againe she got a sight of thee.

The Passion of a Discontented Minde.

The opening stanzas of *The Pilgrimage To Paradise*, *The Passion of a Discontented Minde*, *The Countesse of Penbrookes Passion* and *The Soules immortall crowne* (2nd Daies worke) are all roughly similar:

From all those courses of a vaine conceit,
 Where vertue proues, her honour hath no place,
 Vnto the Sunne, of that bright shining height:
 Where all the graces haue their highest grace,
 My Muse is weande, by wisdomes sounde aduse,
 To make her pilgrimage, to paradise.

The Pilgrimage To Paradise.

Where shall I finde that melancholy muse
 That neuer hard of any thinge but mone?
 And reade the passionnes that her pen doth vse,
 When she and sorrowe sadlye sitt alone;
 To tell the world more than the world can tell?
 What fits, inded most fitlye figure hell.

The Countesse of Penbrookes Passion.

From the vaine humours of vnseason'd Wit,
 Whose heedlesse wil breeds nothing els but woe:
 Among the seates where sacred spirits sit,
 The holy pleasures of the heauens to know:
 My humble Muse learne what perfection saies,
 In Glorious Wisdomes neuer ending praise.

The Soules immortall crowne (2nd Daies worke).

From silent night, true Register of mones,
 From saddest soule, consum'd with deepest sinnes;
 From heart quite rent, with sighes and heauy grones,
 My wailing Muse her wofull worke beginnes:
 And to the world brings tunes of sad dispaire,
 Sounding nought else but sorrow, grieve, and care.

*The Passion of a Discontented Minde.*¹

The prevalent mood of *The Passion of a Discontented Minde* is that of Breton's *Melancholike humours*, which contains such poems as 'A solemne farewell to the world', 'A dolefull passion' and 'An extreame passion'; the latter begins rather like *The Passion of a Discontented Minde*:

Out of the depth of deadly grieve, tormenting day and night,
 A wounded heart, and wretched soule, depriu'd of all delight,
 Where neuer thought of comfort came, that passio might appease,
 Or by the smallest sparke of hope might giue the smallest ease,
 Let me intreat that solemne Muse that serues but sorrowes turne,
 In ceaselesse sighes, and endlesse sobs, to helpe my soule to mourne

No Whippinge, entered in the *Stationers' Register* a month later than *The Passion of a Discontented Minde*, is a plea for poets to turn their attention to divine subjects:

Oh Poets, turne the humour of your braines,
 Vnto some heavenly Muse, or meditation;
 And let your spirits there employ your paines,
 Where neuer weary, needs no recreation,
 While God doth blesse each gracious cogitation
 For proud comparisons are alwayes odious:
 But humble Muses musicke is melodious.

Breton visualizes all the poets joined in a heavenly accord, praising God and lamenting their sins:

If we be toucht with sorrow of our sinnes,
 Exprese our passions as the Psalmist did:
 And shew how mercy, hopes reliefe beginnes,
 Where greatest harmes are in repentance hid:
 Where Grace in Mercy doth dispaire forbid:
 And sing of Him, and of his glory such,
 Who hateth sinne, yet will forgiue so much.
 And let our hymnes be Angell harmonie,
 When Halleluiah makes the heauens to ring:
 And make a consort of such companie,
 As make the Quire but to their holy King:
 This, then, I say, would be a blessed thing:
 When all the world might ioyn to heare and see
 How Poets, in such Poetry agree.

¹ Cf. also the opening stanza of *Machivells Dogge* (F. T. Bowers, 'An addition to the Breton canon', *Modern Language Notes*, XLV, March 1930).

My dogged Muse where hast thou dwelt so long,
 Or hid thy selfe from this sad heart of mine?
 That longs to heare thee sing that deadly song,
 That Sorrow set vnto that soule of thine?
 Where tyred spirits, that in torments dwell,
 Finde how the Deuill turnes the world to hell.

The third verse of *The Passion of a Discontented Minde* reiterates this urgent appeal to modern poets:

O that the learned Poets of this time,
(Who in a loue-sicke line so well endite)
Would not consume good wit in hateful Rime,
But would with care some better subiect write:
For if there musicke please in earthly things,
Well would it sound if straund with heauenly strings.

And then the poet proceeds 'to express his passions as the Psalmist did', ending in this wise:

No farre fetcht story haue I now brought home,
Nor taught to speake more language then his mothers,
No long done Poem, is from darknesse come
To light againe, it's ill to fetch from others:¹
The song I sing, is made of heart-bred sorrow,
Which pensue Muse frō pining soule doth borrow.
I sing not I, of wanton loue-sicke laies,
Of tickling toies, to feed fantasticke eares,
My Muse respects no flattring tatling praise;
A gultie conscience this sad passion beares:
My sunne-sicke soule, with sorrowe woe begone,
Lamenting thus a wretched deed mis-done.²

The last verse alone contains several of the 'mint-words' used by Breton, which Grosart found absent from this poem: 'wanton loue-sicke laies', 'tickling toies' and 'fantasticke eares' are very Bretonish expressions. The adjective 'tatling' is found in *Pasquils Fooles-Cap*: 'happy' as a verb in *Pasquils Mad-Cap* ('Madcappes Message'):

While onely Trueth that walkes by Wisdomes line,
Happieth the heart and makes the soule diuine.

It is used in *The Passion of a Discontented Minde*, again to denote diuine joy:

There all receiue all ioyfull contentation,
Happied by that most heau'nly contemplation.³

¹ Cf. the attack on plagiarism in *Pasquils Fooles-Cap*.

² Cf. *A Solemne Passion of the Soules Loue* (1595):

Come Poets yee that fill the world with fansies,
Whose faining Muses shew but madding fits,
Which all too soone doo fall into those franzies,
That are begotten by mistaking wits:
Lay downe your liues, compare your loue with mine
And say whose vertue is the true diuine
For further tryall let me giue you leaue,
To add a truth vnto your ydle storyes,
Wherewith so oft you doo the world deceaue,
And gayne your selues but ill conceyted gloryes:
Yet when you see where sweetest sights are showne,
Look on my loue, and blush to see your owne.

Your Muses doo your Ladyes prayses sing,
The Aungels sing in glory of my King.

³ *N.E.D.* cites Shakespeare, *Sonnet VI* (1600):

That vse is not forbidden vsery,
Which happies those that pay the willing loan.

More significant is the 'passion' in the title; which, as has been abundantly illustrated, was constantly so used by Breton.

I feel no hesitation, until any evidence to the contrary should turn up, in assigning *The Passion of a Discontented Minde* to Nicholas Breton, on the strength of the close resemblance in style and subject-matter to his recognized works, which I have here noted.

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LIVERPOOL.

A PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF DALEMBERT'S AND DIDEROT'S CLASSIFICATION OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

RECENTLY an extremely curious book came into my possession. It is the *État ou Tableau de la Ville de Paris*¹ which, under different titles, went through seven editions from 1754 to 1765.² The author is unknown, but the privilege, dated 1757, was granted to Jèze, censeur royal, under whose name the book is listed by Barbier, Brunet and Quérard (*La France Littéraire*), although the latter states definitely that it is anonymous. This hand-book to Paris provides an interesting picture of social conditions in Paris in the middle of the eighteenth century, and we may even compose with its aid the *curriculum vitae* of the Parisian of that time, for we can follow him from the cradle to the grave. We know the names of the accoucheur and midwife who attended his birth, of the parish priest in charge of the baptismal registers, the addresses of the Bureaux des Nourrices which provided his wet-nurse. We can piece together details to form a record of his education, we know the regulations governing the various trades, the fees in the Faculties of the University, the provision made for the sick, the poor and the infirm. These and many other details are given, together with much information concerning the public services of the city, the hotels, cafés, means of transport, in fact, everything that could possibly be of use to the native Parisian or to the foreign visitor.

Among its many interesting articles is one of special interest to the student of literature—that which deals with Amusements. For all the theatres of the city, the names of directors, actors, ballet-dancers and even of the ‘ouvreuses de loges’ are given, with the composition of the orchestras and the prices of the seats. We are told, too, that the best days for the Comédie Française are Monday, Wednesday and Saturday, especially the latter; for the Opéra, Friday; for the Comédie Italienne, Thursday. Besides these theatres, mention is made of the Concert Spirituel given in the château des Tuileries on holy days and of the rival attraction, the Combat du Taureau in the Rue de Sèvres, for, says the compiler, ‘le Concert Spirituel ne pouvant être un amusement du goût de

¹ Paris, Prault, 1763, 1 vol. in-8, pp. cvi, 379 and 134, plus a table and a *Discours préliminaire*. This edition is largely a reprint of that of 1760, judging from the dated information which it contains.

² *Journal du Citoyen*, La Haye, in-8, 1754 (Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, Supp.); *État de la Ville de Paris*, Paris, 1757, in-8, 1759, in-12; *État ou Tableau de la Ville de Paris*, Paris, 1760, 1761, 1765, in-8 (Brunet; Barbier, *Dict. des anonymes*) and the edition of 1763, which is not mentioned by either Brunet or Barbier.

tout le monde, ni conforme aux facultés de tous les Citoyens, on a permis que celui que l'on appelle le Combat du Taureau ait lieu lorsque tous les Spectacles vacquent'.¹ There is also much curious information about the libraries, both public and private, of the city, about its monuments, its treasures in architecture, sculpture and painting, while lists of gazettes and periodicals, published in Paris, or abroad, and of interest to the French, are given, with subscription rates and other information.

However, apart from the interest any guide-book of a past age holds for the student or the amateur, the *État de Paris* is particularly important to the student of the intellectual movement of the eighteenth century. The universal enthusiasm for the experimental sciences is well illustrated by a section dealing with public subscription lectures. There are the lectures on geometry and mechanics given by De Gournay, Directeur de l'École de Guerre, which took place three times a week, then lectures on natural history by Bomare de Valmont, 'Commerçant en Epicerie, Droguerie etc., Démonstrateur d'Histoire Naturelle et Membre de la Société des Belles-Lettres, Beaux Arts et Sciences de Clermont-Ferrand'. The subscription to de Valmont's lectures was 72 livres for the full course of three lectures a week or 30 livres for the Mineral kingdom, 24 for the Vegetable kingdom and 18 for the Animal kingdom, but these lectures took place only in winter because the lecturer spent the summer visiting foreign countries. Lectures on chemistry were given by Rouelle, de la Planche, Baumé and Macquer of the Academy of Sciences and both public and private lectures were given by the Abbé Nollet of the Academy of Sciences, who held the newly created chair of Experimental Physics in the Collège de Navarre. Mention is made of the Jardin du Roi and of the work of Buffon and Daubenton, while sixteen private natural history collections are named, including that of Baron d'Olbac (d'Holbach).

There are, too, many references to foreign languages and literatures. For German, 'd'une utilité reconnue pour ceux qui se destinent au métier de la guerre', the names of three private teachers appear, while in the article on the École Militaire the names of a further seven teachers are given. Three teachers of Spanish, 'utile dans les négociations', and seven teachers of Italian are named² with this note which echoes the 'Querelle sur la Musique':

La langue italienne s'est extrêmement accréditée chez les personnes des deux sexes, depuis que l'Amour a fait place à la Galanterie, et que les sons brillans de la Musique d'Italie ont fait tort à la noble et naturelle simplicité de Lully.

¹ II, 14.

² In the Supplement (II, 133) special mention is made of the library of M. Floncel, censeur royal, composed of 7000 volumes in Italian which the owner willingly lent to those interested.

The compiler gives the names of four teachers of English—Berry, Rely, Rollet l'aîné and Flint—and, while explaining the popularity enjoyed by English authors, feels himself that it is exaggerated:

Les Anglois enfin nous ont transmis leur langue et leurs principes, depuis que d'excellentes traductions de leurs Ouvrages ont inspiré le désir de juger les originaux, et que nous avons cru noblement opposer au mépris injuste et ridicule qu'ils font souvent de notre Nation, une estime aussi peu mesurée de tout ce qui nous vient de la leur.

He returns to the charge when welcoming the publication of a new periodical, *Le Génie de la littérature italienne*,¹ for he says:

Il serait à souhaiter que ce nouvel essai réussit au point de balancer par des écrits de pur agrément, les progrès, un peu trop rapides, que la langue Angloise a fait faire chez nous au raisonnement; le badinage et la légèreté de l'Italienne n'auroient du moins rien à démêler avec la Morale et le Gouvernement.

Discussing the section dealing with Amusements, the author treats the drama at some length, and in the 'Querelle sur le théâtre' chooses the middle path:

Alléguer contre la Comédie, qu'elle attaque les mœurs et les altère, c'est peut-être porter le rigorisme un peu trop loin. Dire, pour la défendre, qu'elle a été établie pour nous enseigner la sagesse et pour nous former à la vertu; c'est peut-être aussi parler un peu trop avantageusement en faveur de son Utilité.

After reflecting on the subject of tragedy and comedy, the author concludes thus:

Dans un siècle où l'on paroît vouloir couper, ou du moins relâcher les liens de la Société, ne seroit-il pas à désirer que les Auteurs Dramatiques se portassent avec plus d'empressement vers la Comédie, qui nous rapproche des autres hommes, que vers la Tragédie, qui nous en éloigne? L'une, il est vrai, nous invite à rire de nos semblables; mais l'autre engage à ne vivre que pour soi; et ce dernier sentiment est le plus dangereux pour la Société.²

This preoccupation with society in general is characteristic of the eighteenth century and the compiler of the *État de Paris* here again reflects the general attitude. He takes a wide view of society and, although approving the existing social hierarchy, he does see the mutual obligations of the classes:

C'est dans l'étude des Loix; c'est dans la méditation de toutes les parties qui composent ce bel ensemble que l'on nomme Société, que les Inférieurs apprennent tout ce qu'ils doivent aux personnes en place, de confiance, de respect et de docilité; et que les grands se rappellent tout ce qu'ils doivent à leur tour, à ceux qui leur sont subordonnés, d'attention, de protection, et d'humanité. De cette noble et précieuse correspondance, entre tous les ordres de l'État, résulte le bonheur commun de tous ceux qui le composent.³

¹ I, 209. This periodical, in 16 volumes, sold (and doubtless published) by Herissant in Paris, is not listed in Hatin, *Bibliographie de la Presse périodique*.

² *Discours préliminaire*, p. 32. The pages of the *Discours* being unnumbered, we have indicated them by the numbers 1 to 37 for the purposes of this article.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

The *État* was published at a time when education was a much discussed subject and it is not surprising to find that the compiler, whenever he deals with educational establishments, states his own views on the matter. For him, education is of the highest importance both to the family and to the government, being placed immediately after matters of prime necessity, but it has certain political and social implications:

Une Éducation raisonnable se mesure ordinairement sur les différens degrés de la naissance, des dispositions et des facultés: pécuniairement, tous les Citoyens ne sont pas à portée de ce qu'on appelle la belle Éducation; politiquement, tous ne doivent pas la recevoir; mais la bonne est à la portée de tout le monde, et c'est un dédommagement, plus que suffisant, pour la raison et pour la vertu.¹

Thus the compiler sees fit to consider Education under three headings, Éducation Nécessaire, Éducation Utile, Éducation Agréable, the first restricted to reading, writing and religious instruction, the second comprising training for a trade or profession, and the last, 'philosophically' speaking, 'le luxe de l'éducation', is politically desirable because it proves that the Nation possesses both wealth and taste.

While on the subject of education, it is interesting to note the importance attached to the education of deaf-mutes. A relatively long article, two pages, is devoted to it, the greater part taken up with a reproduction of a prospectus, interesting in itself, issued by a certain Pereira, living in the Rue Saint André des Arts, who taught deaf-mutes to speak not only French but Spanish, Portuguese and Italian. This insistence at length on such a part of education in a guide-book is very curious, but is not this the period of the Père Castel's 'orgue oculaire' and of the Abbé de l'Épée's work for deaf-mutes?

It is unusual to find such 'questions d'actualité' as these entering in so great a measure into what is merely a hand-book to Paris, but what is perhaps more interesting is to see certain ideals, which governed the *Encyclopédie*, influence both the general tone and even the plan of the *État de Paris*. In his *Discours préliminaire* the compiler states that the contents of the *Tableau de Paris* (1759) have been rearranged in accordance with a new method which he proceeds to describe at length and which he also sets out in the form of a chart, a 'carte didactique', entitled *Idée Générale de la Ville de Paris*. This new method is none other than that analysed in the *Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie* and the *Idée Générale* closely resembles Diderot's *Système figuré des connaissances humaines*. D'Alembert explains that Human Understanding can be divided into three faculties, Memory, Reason and Imagination, which, in turn,

¹ *Discours préliminaire*, p. 18.

are translated into History, Philosophy and Poetry. He divides History into Sacred, Civil and Natural History; Philosophy into the Science of God, Man and Nature; Poetry into Sacred and Profane Poetry. Each of these divisions is subdivided, each subdivision is again divided, so that there may be as many as five subdivisions of any one main heading. Now this method of divisions, linked by braces, is repeated in the *Idée Générale*. Paris is considered in relation to Necessary, Useful and Agreeable Things, since

les besoins, les affaires et les plaisirs sont moralement les mobiles qui mettent tout en action, qui donnent à tout le mouvement.¹

A fourth section, on the Administration of the City, is added to the three main divisions. The section on Necessary Things is divided into subsections on the Preservation of Man, his Sustenance and Protection, that relating to Useful Things into Education, Choice of a Trade, information about industry, commerce, public services, etc., that dealing with Agreeable Things into subsections on 'Spectacles, Promenades publiques, Curiosités de Paris'. The three parts into which Education is divided are Éducation Nécessaire, Éducation Utile, Éducation Agréable. Necessary Education is divided into 'Gratuite; Qui se paye pour enseigner à Parler, Écrire et Lire par les Méthodes... Ordinaires... Singulières'; Useful Education into 'Gratuite; Qui se paye et qui convient aux Garçons seulement (Pensions; Maîtres d'armes), aux Filles seulement (Pensions dans les Couvens), aux jeunes Personnes des deux sexes (Maîtres Écrivains; Maîtres et Maîtresses de Langues, d'Histoire, de Géographie)'; and Agreeable Education into 'Danse, Musique, Dessein, Déclamation, Cours Publics, Bibliothèques, Séances Académiques, Écrits périodiques'.

It will thus be seen that the similarity between the *Idée Générale* and the *Système figuré* is very striking, but what is perhaps more remarkable still is that the compiler of the *État de Paris* goes so far in his admiration for the 'ordre encyclopédique' as to arrange the contents of the book according to the divisions and subdivisions of the *Idée Générale*, whereas the *Encyclopédie* itself is arranged in alphabetical order. In connexion with the triple division into Necessary, Useful and Agreeable Things which governs the arrangement of the *État*, it is interesting to recall that D'Alembert, before finally adopting Bacon's system as the basis for his own, had conceived such a division for the 'arbre des connaissances', and it is possible that the system followed by the *État de Paris* was suggested by the following passage from the *Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie*:

¹ *Discours préliminaire*, p. 5.

On pourroit former l'arbre de nos connoissances en les divisant, soit en naturelles et en révélées, soit en utiles et agréables....¹

Apart from the obvious imitation of Diderot's *Système figuré*, dealt with in the preceding paragraphs, the general tone of the *Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie* is reproduced in the *Discours préliminaire* of the *État de Paris*, as is illustrated by the following extracts, from which it will be seen that the *État* adopts the same 'point de départ' as Dalember:²

Mais, il faut que les hommes existent, pour devenir l'objet de toutes ces attentions: nous distinguons, en conséquence, ce qui regarde la conservation des Citoyens.... (*État*, p. 7.)

La première chose que nos sensations nous apprennent, et qui même n'en est pas distinguée, c'est notre existence; d'où il s'ensuit que nos premières idées réfléchies doivent tomber sur nous.... (Dalember, pp. 14-15.)

In the discussion on the system adopted, where it is pointed out that the three principal objects are not mutually exclusive, Dalember's phraseology reappears:

Lorsque les mêmes vues nous ont fait adopter pour les trois principaux objets de cet État ou Tableau, le Nécessaire, l'Utile et l'Agréable, ce n'est pas que ces trois idées principales ne puissent accessoirement et mutuellement se représenter dans chacune des trois divisions fondamentales de tout l'ouvrage: que le Nécessaire, par exemple, ne soit (à quelques égards) Utile, et même Agréable, puisque la première des Utilités est, sans contredit, de pourvoir aux besoins, et que les plaisirs naissent des besoins satisfaits; que l'Agréable ne soit, à son tour, une chose utile, et même nécessaire, relativement aux Citoyens qui n'ont, d'ailleurs, rien à désirer, ou qui sacrifient quelque chose des autres articles pour se procurer celui de pur agrément: que l'Utile enfin, qui se trouve au milieu des deux autres, ne participe à tous les deux, &c. (*État*, pp. 6, 7.)

En effet, si un grand nombre de connoissances agréables suffisoit pour consoler de la privation d'une vérité utile, on pourroit dire que l'étude de la Nature, quand elle nous refuse le nécessaire, fournit du moins avec profusion à nos plaisirs: c'est une espèce de superflu, qui supplée, quoique très-imparfaitement, à ce qui nous manque. De plus, dans l'ordre de nos besoins et des objets de nos passions, le plaisir tient une des premières places, et la curiosité est un besoin pour qui sait penser.... Nous devons donc un grand nombre de connoissances simplement agréables à l'impuissance malheureuse où nous sommes d'acquérir celles qui nous seroient d'une plus grande nécessité. Un autre motif sert à nous soutenir dans un pareil travail; si l'utilité n'en est pas l'objet, elle peut en être au moins le prétexte. (Dalember, pp. 26, 27.)

Finally, the moral tone, the desire to make men aware of the bonds which unite them and the general style of the one find a counterpart in the other:

¹ Dalember, *Mélanges*, Amsterdam, 1763, I, p. 82.

² For the *État*, the page-numbers refer to the *Discours préliminaire*; for Dalember, to vol. I of the Amsterdam edition of the *Mélanges*, 1763.

Que nous serions heureux si (par cet enchaînement d'idées, que nous avons adopté préférentiellement à tout autre plan), nous pouvions contribuer en quelque chose à pénétrer les hommes de leurs mutuelles obligations; à leur rappeler les liens qui les unissent; à les leur rendre aussi chers qu'ils sont respectables; liens d'autant plus durables, qu'ils sont fondés sur les besoins réciproques de chacun d'eux! Quand la chaîne est indissoluble, qu'a-t-on à faire mieux que de la rendre légère? On n'y parvient qu'en engageant les autres à la partager; et l'on ne les y engage qu'en la portant soi-même avec eux. (*État*, p 37)

Cet art si précieux de mettre dans les idées l'enchaînement convenable, et de faciliter en conséquence le passage des unes aux autres, fournit en quelque manière le moyen de rapprocher jusqu'à un certain point les hommes qui paroissent différer le plus. (Dalembert, p. 51)

C'est aux Philosophes à juger si cette communication réciproque, jointe à la ressemblance que nous apercevons entre nos sensations et celles de nos semblables, ne contribue pas beaucoup à fortifier ce penchant invincible que nous avons à supposer l'existence de tous les objets qui nous frappent. Pour me renfermer dans mon sujet, je remarquerai seulement que l'agrément et l'avantage que nous trouvons dans un pareil commerce, soit à faire part de nos idées aux autres hommes, soit à joindre les leurs aux nôtres, doit nous porter à resserrer de plus en plus les liens de la société commencée, et à la rendre la plus utile pour nous qu'il est possible. (Dalembert, pp. 20, 21.)

From the analysis of the method of arrangement employed in the *État ou Tableau de la Ville de Paris* and from the extracts quoted in this article, it will be seen that the *État* provides another example of the widespread dissemination of the ideas held by the 'philosophes' of the eighteenth century. The desire to reduce everything to a system, the adoption of a sociological point of view, the treating of every subject 'en philosophe', which all characterize the age, are very evident here. Again, is it not remarkable to find that an eighteenth-century equivalent of the Bottin echoes contemporary controversies on literary, musical and political matters? There is almost no question, which was under discussion at that time, to which it does not allude. Finally, it would perhaps not be surprising to find that such a vast enterprise as the *Encyclopédie*, which was in course of publication when the *État de Paris* appeared, had exercised some influence on a work which may be regarded as a manner of encyclopaedia, but it is indeed surprising to see how far that influence went. The compiler's admiration for Diderot's and Dalembert's classification of human knowledge caused him to recast the matter of his book and to compose a flagrant imitation of Diderot's *Système figuré*, but nowhere in the *État* is mention made of Diderot or Dalembert or even of the *Encyclopédie*.

W. HUGO EVANS.

CHARLES FOX ET RACINE

ON a souvent opposé Racine à Shakespeare comme deux pôles qui n'auraient point d'axe commun. Cette opposition a eu pour effet de faire méconnaître et négliger en Angleterre l'écrivain français. C'est de nos jours seulement que la critique anglaise lui a rendu pleine justice et que nous avons pu lire les pages excellentes de F. Y. Eccles, Lytton Strachey, Arthur Tilley. Trop longtemps les lecteurs britanniques s'étaient détournés de lui. 'It is recorded of very few Englishmen', disait le professeur Eccles, 'that they have read him with delight.'¹ Le cas de Charles Fox est donc particulièrement digne d'attention, bien qu'il ne constitue pas une exception unique. Il s'agit du grand parlementaire et de l'homme d'Etat à qui fut dévolue plus d'une fois la direction des Affaires étrangères.

Mieux que quiconque il était préparé à subir l'enchantement de Racine. Tout d'abord par sa connaissance profonde de la langue, de la civilisation, de la littérature françaises. 'While a boy', remarque Sir George Trevelyan, 'he had as much French as most diplomatists would think sufficient for a lifetime.'² A l'âge de sept ans, il fut placé à l'école de Wadsworth qui était alors un village proche de Londres. Il y eut pour maître un Français appartenant à une de ces familles de huguenots qui s'étaient fixées en ce lieu—habité aussi par Voltaire—après la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes. A M. Pampelonne il dut son accent très pur avec une aisance précoce dans le maniement du français. A Eton l'adolescent écrivait des vers français, agiles et rapides comme le ruisseau sur une pente. Par la suite il s'appliqua de plus en plus à l'étude d'un idiome dont l'acquisition était alors un moyen de parvenir.³ D'Oxford il mandait, le 13 février 1765, à Sir George Macartney:

I am heartily obliged to you for your advice about French, which I will undoubtedly follow, as I am thoroughly convinced of its utility.

Il passa toute l'année 1767 sur le Continent, à se perfectionner dans la pratique de cette langue et de l'italien. S'adressant de Florence, le 6 août 1767, au même personnage, il se rendait ce témoignage:

As to French, I am far from being so thorough a master of it as I could wish, but I know so much of it that I could perfect myself in it at any time with very little trouble, especially if I pass three or four months in France.

¹ *Racine in England* (The Tylorian Lecture, 1921), Oxford, 1922.

² *The Early History of Charles James Fox*.

³ On sait quelle place Lord Chesterfield fait au français dans son programme d'éducation. Il écrivait lui-même à son filleul dans cette langue 'devenue presque, disait-il en 1762, la langue universelle de l'Europe; un honnête homme ne peut pas s'en passer dans la société'.

Ce n'est pas trois ou quatre mois qu'il passa dans un pays qui eut toujours sa tendresse. Il y fit de longs séjours durant lesquels ce n'est pas trop de dire qu'il se naturalisa Français par l'esprit. Un charme opérait sur lui quand il se trouvait à Paris ou à Versailles. Il vit Voltaire et fréquenta Madame du Deffand. Etant lui-même de très bonne maison, il fut reçu dans les milieux les plus exclusifs où il connut la fameuse douceur de vivre et s'appropriâ toutes les traditions de la vieille France.

Sir George Trevelyan a montré que l'influence française s'exerça sur Fox pendant les années déterminantes pour sa formation, que ses sentiments francophiles furent durables et qu'ils ne furent pas sans effet sur sa politique au moment de la Révolution. 'Fox', dit-il, 'might well retain through life a sense of having been domesticated in a country where he had made himself so thoroughly at home.'

Quand il revint à Paris en 1802, les survivants du XVIII^e siècle furent étonnés de l'entendre s'exprimer à la façon du Président Hénault s'adressant à la Duchesse de La Vallière ou à Madame du Deffand. Il parla longuement en français lors d'un dîner, et l'un de ses interlocuteurs ne découvrit qu'après coup qu'il n'était pas Français. On peut lire ses lettres à son ami Fitzpatrick, et ses dépêches diplomatiques, par exemple un exposé datant de 1782, destiné au roi de Prusse, et sa correspondance avec Talleyrand en 1806. Le français de ces pages est non seulement irréprochable, mais d'une grande distinction.

Cet illustre politique avait au suprême degré l'amour des belles-lettres, surtout de la poésie et du théâtre. Tout enfant, on lui avait fait jouer avec des compagnons de son âge la tragédie chez son père, et ce devint un des plaisirs de sa jeunesse.¹ Sa passion pour le théâtre ressemblait un peu à celle de Voltaire qui, à peine arrivé quelque part, s'empressait d'organiser une troupe, d'y faire entrer ses amis, ses domestiques, ses visiteurs, de jouer lui-même.² Fox apprenait des tirades entières qu'il se plaisait à réciter et ses talents d'orateur doivent quelque chose à son goût pour la déclamation dramatique: la voix, l'accent, le geste étaient admirablement adaptés au fond de ses discours. Longtemps se conserva, parmi ceux qui l'avaient entendu, le souvenir de cette large diction, de cette progression grandiose qui le rendait semblable à une force de la nature: 'Every one of his massive sentences came rolling like a wave of the Atlantic, three thousand miles long' (Trevelyan).

Ce grand improvisateur avait appris à faire difficilement des choses

¹ Ch. de Rémusat, *L'Angleterre au dix-huitième siècle*, tome II.

² G. Larroumet, *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 1900.

faciles. En tout ce qu'il entreprenait, il cherchait à atteindre l'excellent. Nous ne nous laissons pas de citer Sir George Trevelyan dont l'étude est classique: 'His rule in small things, as in great, was the homely proverb that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well.'

Aussi n'était-il jamais satisfait de lui-même et le voit-on s'imposer pour ses travaux littéraires les plus laborieuses disciplines. Il aurait volontiers dit avec André Gide que l'art est toujours le résultat d'une contrainte. On a remarqué le soin minutieux qu'il apportait à polir ses vers français et à corriger ses fautes de rime ou de rythme. Ainsi se trouve le passage suivant dans une de ses lettres écrite de Paris en octobre 1769:

I must beg you to correct two damned faults in my French letter. *Style féconde* is not grammar. Read *verve féconde*. The verse that begins with *des trésors* has a syllable too much. Read *des fleurs*, and consequently, in the line before, *cueillir* instead of *puiser*. Pray alter these things if you have not burned the letter.

De tels efforts ne furent point perdus. Ils l'accoutumèrent à sentir la musique propre au vers racinien. De même qu'on n'aborde pas la lecture de Sophocle et de Virgile sans étudier les lois de la métrique, on ne saurait saisir cette musique si l'on ne s'est pas assimilé la technique du poète français. Fox ne se piquait pas d'être autre chose qu'un amateur, mais il était capable d'apprécier les ressources de la versification française, de même qu'il était rompu à toutes les finesses de la langue.

Il avait un autre avantage, celui de posséder de vastes connaissances d'histoire littéraire, de savoir les langues anciennes, et d'avoir appris, outre le français, l'italien et l'espagnol. Il se délectait à la lecture de l'Arioste ou de Cervantes dans l'original. Il découvrait ainsi des rapports qui auraient échappé à un lecteur moins instruit. Sa faculté critique s'en était fortifiée, son goût élargi.

Quand il compare entre eux les grands poètes épiques [dit avec raison Charles de Rémusat], quand il met l'Odyssée en regard de l'Iliade, Euripide en parallèle avec Racine, et Horace avec Pope, il écrit des pages du meilleur cours de littérature.

Ce genre de comparaisons lui plaisait: à preuve encore celle qu'il établit entre le *Britannicus* de Racine, l'*Aurengzebe* de Dryden et le *Thésée* de Quinault.¹

Le critique littéraire perce à tout moment. 'Dans sa correspondance avec lord Holland, lord Lauderdale, Grey lui-même, il s'interrompt sans cesse pour leur parler de ses lectures, des réflexions qu'elles lui inspirent, et leur confier, avec ses vues sur les affaires, des remarques de style et quelquefois de philologie' (Rémusat). Il couvait en lui, aussi bien, un humaniste et un scoliaste. Il a dit un jour que telle était sa vocation, lui

¹ Voir ses lettres des 11 et 19 janvier 1803.

qui avait formé le projet de donner une édition critique des œuvres de Dryden.

Oh! how I wish that I could make up my mind to think it right to devote all the remaining part of my life to such subjects, and such only!

Il écrivait ces lignes le 9 janvier 1804, dans l'une des toutes dernières années de sa vie. Un peu plus tôt, il avait entretenu une correspondance érudite avec le savant Gilbert Wakefield qui lui avait dédié une édition critique de Lucrèce. Cette correspondance roulait presque tout entière sur des sujets de littérature classique. Fox y discutait, par exemple, l'authenticité du XXIV^e Chant de l'Iliade, la signification des termes désignant la couleur dans la poésie latine, un projet de lexique. Jamais les livres des Grecs et des Latins ne quittaient longtemps sa main. Il lisait tout Homère une fois par an et Virgile l'accompagnait dans ses voyages.

Résumons: par sa connaissance intime de la langue française, de ses moyens d'expression, de son harmonie; sa familiarité avec la société aristocratique de l'Ancien Régime; son sens exercé du théâtre; son souci de perfection artistique; sa fréquentation constante des Anciens; sa science du grec; Fox était prédestiné à sentir la tragédie de Racine selon son climat. Il discernait la qualité essentielle du style racinien. Il savait la valeur suggestive de ce style dépouillé, presque incorporel, comme disait si heureusement E. Legouis,¹ qui ne matérialise pas la pensée, mais dégage un extratexte.² La lumière blanche, la retenue exquise, la discrétion noble, les paroles les plus humbles, lui paraissaient plus expressives que les traits appuyés et le luxe des métaphores. Retenons ce propos:

There is one line in Quinault that delights me; but which it is just possible you may think over-done, in point of simplicity. When Eglé who is in the situation of Indamora and Lindamora, appears cold to him, Thésée says:

'Eglé ne m'aime plus et n'a rien à me dire'!

Il faudrait maintenant examiner les jugements qu'il a portés sur Racine. On ne peut s'empêcher de reconnaître leur finesse et leur équité. Nous nous contenterons de rappeler ceux qu'il a énoncés au sujet de *Phèdre* qui semble avoir été sa pièce préférée, comme elle est du reste celle des connaisseurs. Il la mettait au-dessus de l'*Hippolyte* d'Euripide, tragédie dont Racine s'était inspiré, mais qu'il avait profondément

¹ *Défense de la poésie française à l'usage des lecteurs anglais.* London, Constable, 1912.

² Le mot est de Péguy.

modifiée et même 'renversée'. Deux lettres de janvier 1800 nous font connaître les opinions de Fox.

I am very glad you are reading Eurpides.... There are fine things in Hippolytus as in any of his plays, but then they are almost all of them most judiciously taken by Racine and some of them improved, so that they would not be new to you, and there is a great deal of very indifferent in it, and the plot I think vile. I mean making Phaedra kill herself and leave the lie behind her. It is an excess of wickedness which in my conception does not suit her character.

Il déclarait très heureuse l'invention par Racine du rôle d'Aricie.

I do not disapprove of Racine's introduction of Aricie; on the contrary, I think it is an excellent way, and indeed the only way of making the story tolerable, as it makes Phaedra consent to the accusation through jealousy. Besides, Hippolytus' declaration of love to Aricie is beautiful in itself, and Phaedra's speech when she hears of it still more so, and great beauties are with me a complete justification of the introduction of an episode. Only read Phaedra's speech when she hears of his love for Aricie. Nothing can exceed it.

La rencontre est admirable: ce discours est précisément le morceau qu'E. Legouis cite en exemple de l'art racinien. Il ne s'y trouve pas, disait-il, une métaphore qui accroche le regard. Rien de plus atténué que les mots de cette plainte si pathétique. Une seule évocation sensible, la plus simple qui soit,—le contraste de la lumière et de la nuit, figurant celui du péché et de l'innocence; mais aussi, parce qu'elle est simple, parce qu'elle est seule, combien grand est son effet:

Tous les jours se levoient purs et sereins pour eux¹

'C'est que cette unique image dont les termes sont plus moraux encore que physiques (*purs, sereins*) exprime le fond de l'âme de Phèdre qui, de l'abîme noir de son crime, soupire après la clarté de la vertu. Voilà ce qui nous semble, à nous, la perfection de l'art.'

Gageons que Fox pensait exactement de même.

Quand il vint à Paris en 1802, après une longue absence—car la France était fermée aux voyageurs anglais depuis 1793—son premier soin fut d'aller au Théâtre-Français où Mlle Duchesnois, à ses débuts, jouait *Andromaque*. Il la vit aussi dans la Roxane de *Bajazet* qu'il considérait comme de beaucoup son meilleur rôle, et enfin dans *Phèdre*. Il fut reconnu le soir où il assista pour la première fois à la représentation de cette pièce. Tout le monde se leva et les applaudissements furent universels.¹ Les Français du temps voyaient en lui un ami de leur pays et un bon juge de leur littérature.

L'admiration qu'il éprouvait pour Racine ne se démentit jamais. Il chérissait Dryden, mais ne lui pardonnait pas d'avoir été un détracteur

¹ Ch. de Rémusat.

de l'écrivain français. Jusqu'au bout, il défendit cet écrivain contre toutes les attaques d'où qu'elles vinssent. Dès qu'on en disait du mal, il dressait la crête. Ainsi, le 9 janvier 1804, il lui arrivait de faire allusion à la *Vie de Chaucer* par William Godwin :

I observe that he takes an opportunity of showing his stupidity in not admiring Racine. It puts me quite in a passion.

'Je veux contre eux faire un jour un gros livre'

as Voltaire says.

Even Dryden, who speaks with proper respect of Corneille and Molière, vilipends Racine. If ever I publish my edition of his works, I will give it him for it you may depend.

Il est dommage que Fox n'ait pas écrit cette apologie de Racine qui eût été une page de critique mémorable, et aurait vengé l'écrivain français des dédains accumulés par plusieurs générations.

Félicitons-nous néanmoins que cet écrivain ait trouvé un défenseur de la qualité de Fox. Ainsi, un Anglais de haute culture enseignait, il y a un siècle et demi, qu'on peut révéler Shakespeare à la fois et honorer Racine. La leçon pourrait être retenue par ceux qui, sans préjugés, s'efforcent de concilier les deux religions.

J. DECHAMPS.

LONDON.

MARCEL PROUST AND MADAME LEON DAUDET: A SOURCE AND AN EXAMPLE OF 'AFFECTIVE MEMORY'

READERS of *Le Temps retrouvé*¹ will remember that, in the opening chapter, Proust returns to a vein he had successfully exploited in the *Pastiches* on the *affaire Lemoine* in 1908. In the earlier work he had already given an imitation of the *Journal des Goncourt*; and, on this later occasion, he makes his hero discover, in a volume of the same *Journal*, a description of a dinner given by Mme Verdurin many years before. When the pseudo-Goncourt narrative reaches the dishes served at the meal, the narrator carefully points out the superiority of the Verdurin cuisine over that of the usual Parisian dinner: '... tout un fricoté comme les Parisiens n'en ont jamais dans les plus grands dîners.'² Details of each dish follow, with a mention of its special virtue or a comparison with the inferior article or careless preparation from which the brothers had suffered at such functions.

During a recent re-reading of this passage, certain phrases strongly recalled to the present writer the witty account of *le mauvais dîner classique*, given by Mme Léon Daudet in her little book of recipes, *Les Bons Plats de France*.³ It would obviously be inappropriate to speak of imitation in this connexion, but the passage, indeed the whole book, had clearly interested Proust enough, for one reason or another, for the details to fix themselves in his memory so that he came to utilize them almost instinctively, perhaps unconsciously. A table of *rapprochements* will make the points of similarity sufficiently clear.

PROUST

(1) Même le foie gras n'a aucun rapport avec la fade mousse qu'on sert habituellement sous ce nom, et je ne sais pas beaucoup d'endroits où la simple salade de pommes de terre est faite ainsi de pommes de terre ayant la fermeté de bouton d'ivoire japonais.... (Op. cit., p. 27.)

MME DAUDET

(1) (a) Quant au pâté de foie gras... c'est une mousse... chaque bouchée ne laisse pas plus de goût qu'un peu de neige. (Op. cit., p. 180.)

(b) la salade de pommes de terre doit se faire avec des pommes de terre de Hollande qui restent fermes comme de l'ivoire. (Op. cit., p. 17.)

¹ Marcel Proust, *À la Recherche du Temps perdu: le Temps retrouvé*, I, p. 24 et seq.

² Ibid., p. 27.

³ Pamphile [Mme Léon Daudet], *Les Bons Plats de France*, Fayard, pp. 178-81.

PROUST

(2) C'est un amusement pour l'imagination de l'œil... de voir apporter une barbue qui n'a rien des barbues pas fraîches qui ont pris dans les retards du voyage le modelage sur leurs dos de leurs arêtes, une barbue qu'on sert non avec la colle à pâte que préparent sous le nom de sauce blanche, tant de chefs de grande maison, mais avec de la véritable sauce blanche faite avec du beurre à cinq francs la livre. (Op. cit., p. 28)

(3) ...un mannaque qui aurait plutôt l'appétit d'une bouteille de cidre, bue dans la fraîcheur un peu encanaillée d'une ferme normande. (Op. cit., p. 29)

MME DAUDET

(2) (a) On vient d'apporter la barbue... sans doute elle est d'une belle taille mais ses arêtes sont marquées sur son dos comme si elle venait d'ôter son corset, elle a voyagé, la pauvre bête; elle a eu chaud, elle a trop attendu dans les gares. (Op. cit., p. 179.)

(b) le tout agglutiné dans un peu de colle de pâte, qui porte le nom de sauce blanche. (Ibid.)

(c) pour bien réussir une sauce blanche et qu'elle n'ait pas l'aspect de colle de pâte il faut *beaucoup de très bon beurre*. (Op. cit., p. 37)

(3) Un coup de cidre bien frais... servi dans une carafe couverte de buée. (Op. cit., p. 74.)

It is also noteworthy that Mme Verdurin's remark in quotation (3) about her husband's fondness for cider is followed by a dithyrambic description of the Normandy landscape and vegetation which, although it contains no verbal resemblances, is similar in scope and tone to Mme Daudet's poetic impression of Normandy in spring which precedes the reference to cider quoted above from the section *Normandie* in her book.

Any of these likenesses taken separately would not necessarily be conclusive; together they form a convincing chain of evidence that the details of *Les Bons Plats de France* were in his mind as he wrote. And in earlier volumes of *Le Temps perdu* there is still more definite proof of the deep impression that Mme Daudet's book had made upon him. Its gastronomic *snobisme* was congenial, and when Proust describes the speech of Mme de Guermantes he characteristically turns to it for appropriate similes with which to define her aristocratic pungency and simplicity. Twice he mentions Pampille and her work, each time in terms of enthusiastic admiration, each time to bring out the peculiar savour and piquancy of Oriane's racy archaisms:

'Gallardnette est une vieille poison,' reprit Mme de Guermantes, dont le vocabulaire habituellement limité à toutes ces vieilles expressions était savoureux comme ces plats possibles à découvrir dans les livres délicieux de Pampille, mais dans la réalité devenus si rares, où les gelées, le beurre, le jus sont authentiques, ne comportent aucun alliage, et même où on fait venir le sel des marais salants de Bretagne.¹

¹ *Temps perdu: Côté de Guermantes*, ii, p. 171; cf Pampille, op. cit., pp. 28-9, 'le meilleur sel est le sel de marais salants et l'on a grand avantage à s'en faire expédier... soit de Piriac, soit du Bourg-de-Batz, soit de Guérande, ou de toute autre région où il y a des marais salants.'

And again:

... sa conversation s'impregnait un peu du charme mélancolique des Pardons, et, comme dirait ce vrai poète qu'est Pampille, de l'âpre saveur des crêpes de blé noir, cuites sur un feu d'ajoncs.¹

But the connexion does not begin or end there. The Verdurin dinner reminiscence of Mme Daudet occurs in a pastiche of the Goncourts, and when we turn back to the earlier one of 1908, we find that it, too, is closely linked with the Daudets, this time her husband Léon and his brother Lucien. Proust's affectionate relations with the family sufficiently explain allusions to them or recollections of them in his work; but where, it may be asked, do the Goncourts come in? For to Proust, it would appear, Daudet suggests Goncourt and Goncourt suggests Daudet: if not indissolubly joined together in his mind, the two are at least closely associated. When the evidence is examined and the association traced to its source, the Goncourt-Daudet link is found to be an illuminating illustration of the working of Proust's 'affective memory'.

The starting-point is with the young Marcel making his first bow in the salons of Paris in his late teens, when Mme Alphonse Daudet met him at dinner at the Baignères, and described him to her son Léon on her return as 'un garçon charmant, d'une amabilité rare, extrêmement lettré'.² She had her share in building up the memories with which Proust was to fashion his great work, for, when documenting himself on feminine fashions some years later, he said plaintively to a friend who refused to show him her hats—it must be admitted it was at one a.m.!—'Mme Daudet a gardé tous ses chapeaux. Je les ai vus.'³ At the time of their first meeting, however, she indirectly made a far more important contribution to Proust's formation, for it was at her house that he now met Edmond de Goncourt. After the death of Jules, Alphonse had almost replaced him in the affection of his brother, who was a constant visitor to the Daudet home, and spent every year some part of the summer with them at Champrosay, where he eventually died.⁴ The great man was evidently much impressed by the promise of their young friend, and foretold his literary career.⁵ Thus already in the late 'eighties the last surviving Goncourt is fixed in Proust's mind by a pleasing and flattering association, an association which had its roots in the Daudet family.

¹ *Temps perdu: La Prisonnière*, i, p. 48; cf. Pampille, *op. cit.*, *Les Crêpes de blé noir*, pp. 92-3.

² Lucien Daudet, *Autour de soixante lettres de Marcel Proust*, p. 10.

³ L. P. Quint, *Marcel Proust*, p. 75.

⁴ Cf. Sabatier, *L'Esthétique des Goncourt*, p. 382 et seq.

⁵ Cf. Quint, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

Nearly twenty years later the first literary expression of this Goncourt-Daudet nexus is found in the pastiches on the Lemoine incident.¹ In this, his first pastiche on the *Journal des Goncourt*, there are affectionate tributes to both Léon and Lucien Daudet. Of Lucien especially Proust had become a close friend at a very early stage, winning his junior's confidence and affection by a consideration very flattering to a schoolboy from a brilliant young man. The good understanding thus begun continued unbroken, and though on less intimate terms with Léon, the elder brother, Proust never forgot a happy stay with him and his wife at Fontainebleau in the late 'nineties, and counted them among his friends. By 1908, therefore, the Goncourt association had been insensibly transferred in Proust's mind from the Daudet parents to the two sons, and the actual setting he gives to his pastiche is an imaginary dinner at Lucien's:

Diné avec Lucien Daudet, qui parle avec un rien de verve blagueuse des diamants fabuleux vus sur les épaules de Mme X... , diamants dits par Lucien dans une forte joie langue, ma foi, à la notation toujours artiste, à l'épellement savoureux de ses épithètes décelant l'écrivain tout à fait supérieur, être malgré tout une pierre bourgeoise....

A little further on Lucien in turn is made to pay his tribute to Proust:

Un curieux être, assure Lucien, que ce Marcel Proust, un être qui vivrait tout à fait dans l'enthousiasme, dans le *bonheur* de certains paysages, de certains livres, un être par exemple qui serait complètement enamouré des romans de Léon.²

The passages quoted, and many others in the pastiche, are clearly a literary transcript of the actual relations existing between Proust and the two brothers, their talk, their jokes, their admiration for each other's work. The pseudo-Goncourt form in which all this is cast, however striking in itself, might be set down to mere accidental association, were it not for the series of connexions we have begun to trace and must continue to follow until the appearance of the second Goncourt pastiche.

From 1908 onwards the intimacy with the Daudets was maintained, and both Léon and Lucien were among the first publicly to praise Proust's work as it appeared. Thus the publication of *Du Côté de chez Swann* by Grasset in 1913 was hailed by Lucien in a review in the *Figaro*³ in which, as Proust wrote to Louis de Robert, his old friend showed that he had 'admirablement compris' the book.⁴ Then, after the war, came increasing recognition and fame. Early in 1919 he left Grasset for the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, which at the end of June published *A l'ombre des Jeunes*

¹ *Supplément littéraire du Figaro*, 22 Feb. 1908.

² Cf. *Pastiches et Mélanges*, pp. 36-40 passim.

³ *Figaro*, 23 Nov. 1913.

⁴ Cf. R. Dreyfus, *Souvenirs sur Marcel Proust*, p. 301.

Filles en Fleurs and the *Pastiches et Mélanges*, and reprinted *Swann*. Léon gave the new volumes an enthusiastic welcome in the *Action Française*; and when, in November, Proust was awarded the *prix Goncourt*, it was largely to the joint efforts of the two Daudets that he owed the signal distinction he had long coveted. In writing the second Goncourt pastiche, therefore, for *le Temps retrouvé* some time during the closing years of his life, it is very possible that Proust was subconsciously aware of this understanding audience of two, and more than possible that, as he wrote it, his memory harked back, all unwittingly, to the earlier pastiche in which they had figured. It was a train of association that would naturally lead him to incorporate in the description of the Verdurin dinner some details that his memory had retained from a book written by the wife of the one and the sister-in-law of the other.

But the facts are much more substantial than this would suggest, and the evidence of association, a Daudet-Goncourt association, as conclusive as the nature of such evidence allows. In the course of his voluminous correspondence with Lucien Daudet throughout the war years Proust constantly alludes to the *Journal des Goncourt*, always with expressions of rather comic horror at their mannerisms or parodying their naïve conceit. To quote some of them: 'Si mon livre a du succès en Angleterre (encore plus *Journal des Goncourt* de le croire)...';¹ 'Je ne voudrais pas avoir l'air plus *Journal des Goncourt* que le *Journal* lui-même en reparlant sans cesse de *Swann*. . .';² 'Ce qui est très *Goncourt*, c'est que je reçois votre lettre où vous me parlez de cela...';³ 'A propos de choses bêtes dans le genre de celles que notait *Goncourt*...';⁴ '(Ce qui a un air mystification, *Journal des Goncourt*, mais il est vrai)...';⁵ 'Enfin tout ce qu'un vieux *Goncourt* sans talent, sans beaux objets, sans rien, peut déplorer dans ses derniers ruminements';⁶ 'Autre chose: mon frère est "tombé chez moi" comme eût dit *Goncourt*...';⁷ Passages such as these show, beyond all doubt, how habitual the pastiche of the Goncourt style had become with Proust, and how inseparably the habit was associated with Lucien Daudet. In writing to him, and even thinking of him, it was second nature for Proust to write like the *Journal des Goncourt*; he knew that his slightly mocking phrases would be relished by his friend as by himself. In fact it was a game at which both played, for in one of these letters this passage occurs: 'J'ai par hasard ouvert un volume du *Journal des Goncourt*. . . imaginez-vous que j'y ai trouvé des choses à ne pas croire,

¹ Lucien Daudet, op. cit., p. 93.

³ Ibid., p. 137.

⁶ Ibid., p. 181.

⁴ Ibid., p. 147.

⁷ Ibid., p. 231.

² Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 170.

sur le jour de l'enterrement de Victor Hugo! J'ai cru lire un pastiche fait par vous ou moi.'¹ It is only one other link in the chain of association we have traced. From his first meeting with Edmond de Goncourt at Alphonse Daudet's house, through the years when he was constantly hearing of him at first-hand from his closest friends, down to the later period when the older generation were dead and the younger practised their half-satiric, half-loyal game of quotation and imitation, everything conspired to create and strengthen the association in Proust's experience. Deeply rooted in his consciousness, its operations had passed beyond his conscious control, and Daudet-Goncourt memories came unbidden, often in strange but always in close union.

In the two published Goncourt pastiches, then, the Daudet presence is only less inevitable than the Goncourt; but the particular touch that makes the whole string of association vibrate is not without its significance: in both pastiches a dinner is the setting. The train of memories ran something like this. In the first pastiche Proust imagines Edmond de Goncourt writing of a dinner given by Lucien Daudet, for, as we have seen, he met Edmond de Goncourt in the house of Mme Alphonse Daudet at the moment when his deep affection and friendship for Lucien first declared itself. Although Lucien was then still too young to be regularly present at formal dinners, he often made a 'fourteenth' when this was necessary, and on these occasions was allowed to remain up to hand round coffee and liqueurs; he was, that is, a distinctive member of such parties. Given the lines on which Proust's memory worked, any detail connected with any one of the ideas—Goncourt—Daudet—dinner—was sufficient to bring the other two to the surface of his consciousness. As a result of the operation of his affective memory, all these details became for him as much the present in 1908 as in 1888 or 1890. Similarly in the second pastiche, circa 1918, the pseudo-Goncourt cadre would be enough to suggest the rest; but there were again particular associations which help to explain the form of the Daudet reference. In the years just before the war, as Proust's biographer, M. Pierre Quint, tells us, when he invited a friend to dinner, he was in the habit of asking whom his guest would like to meet: 'Je vous inviterai avec Léon Daudet. . .,' he would say, 'enfin qui vous voudrez.'² This time, therefore, the dinner link is with Léon rather than Lucien, and it is supported by a letter to the latter, undated but written towards the end of the war and very possibly contemporary with the drafting of *Le Temps retrouvé*. 'Je vois', he writes, 'le titre d'un livre appelé *Les deux Marthe*, or comme ma belle-sœur

¹ Lucien Daudet, op. cit., p. 143.

² L. P. Quint, op. cit., p. 84.

s'appelle également Marthe, cela me fait penser à la tienne [Mme Léon Daudet] *qui écrit des livres charmants*.'¹ Here we have come full cycle to our starting-point, the source of the Verdurin dinner in Mme Léon Daudet's *Les Bons Plats de France*.

In Proust's own experience, then, we can trace the working of affective memory in a way very similar to his description of the memories conjured up by the 'petite madeleine' or the 'petite phrase de la sonate de Vinteuil' in *À la Recherche du Temps perdu*, and his insistence on the associations they repeatedly recall. The whole process is excellently defined in the words of his biographer, M. Quint:

La vie affective a ses lois propres, toutes différentes de celles de l'intelligence. Il y a une association et une mémoire des sentiments qui ne sont pas celles des idées. Leur mécanisme obscur se cache dans l'inconscient qui forme la partie la plus essentielle de notre moi.²

But what gives a wholly peculiar significance to the *genèse* we have traced is that in the two pastiches Proust himself was probably unconscious of what was taking place in his mind, whereas the associations of the *madeleine* and the *sonate de Vinteuil* are his conscious *a posteriori* reconstruction of the processes of the affective memory, for purposes of literary demonstration.

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¹ Lucien Daudet, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

² L. P. Quint, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

GALLANTRY IN THE MEDIAEVAL GERMAN LYRIC

THE dominant theme of the careful raptures of Minnesang was courtly love, a wary passion lived in or about a court. A wary passion indeed, but one that laid firm hold of the imagination, for in the face of death, at the end of their earth, at the very gates of Heaven, crusading knights sent back their verses to their lady for all the world as if they had just left court.

The conditions of court life are such that amorous passions and amorous codes of behaviour are bound to arise. The leisure of a court, the repeated, even the obligatory meetings there with people of the other sex who please the eye, its easy familiarity on a superficial level, on the one hand; the obstacles to a more settled intercourse on the other, its publicity, the prestige of a woman's menfolk, their family politics that cut across the inclinations of friendship, the fear of scandal: these conditions cannot fail to breed tense passions strong in the imagination and all the more distracting for the need indefinitely to postpone their declaration. But why waste words? All this has found classic expression in *La Princesse de Clèves*.

But the lessons of this subtle novel cannot be applied straightway to the literature of the feudal age. Andreas the Chaplain may well pronounce the axiom on behalf of the knighthood that love cannot exist between husband and wife, and five hundred years later Madame de la Fayette may well (and a trifle hysterically) point to Monsieur de Clèves as the one man at the court who loved his wife like a mistress and to his wife as the one woman who was able to respect so unique an attachment (though she loved another): but the attitude of feudal society towards this theory was naive, that of the French court in the century of Le Roi Soleil was sophisticated. The knight still believed that hell-fire was the reward for adultery, and his vow that he would endure its flames if his lady would allow him the opportunity was his greatest compliment (though his worst approach, for it confirmed her own fears): while Madame de la Fayette's contemporaries acted on the assumption that peace could be made with Heaven in the end—why should they doubt it when a number of the priesthood seemed to act upon it too?

The knight's passion subjected him to a greater strain. It conflicted violently with his religion and was nevertheless in some aspects itself

very near to religion. It was the knight as a worshipper not as a wooer of women who most appealed to the nineteenth-century Romantics who revived his poetry, but his peculiarity was just that he was both. The biased Romantic view still lingers on, or has been refined into a purely aesthetic appreciation, a chill curiosity in a passion that was hot-blooded, rakish and devout.

'To curb your blood', says Spengler with the finality of Mrs Beaton, 'you must first have some.' The knight had blood enough to squander, but in the strait conditions of a court he was as hard put to it to bridle his instincts in the service of an earthly lady as any hermit in adoration of The Heavenly One. The points of resemblance so often quoted for the two cults, of Mary and the Court Lady, are just, for in the course of their history knight and mystic learned much from one another in the expression of their passions. This is not surprising, since they derive from the same source. The one sprang from a sexuality manfully deferred, the other from the same instinct superhumanly renounced. The ardour of the knight was frankly amorous, but on account of its delayed fulfilment constantly lifting up into mysticism: the mystic's passion was concealed from itself, but from its inhuman strain on the will it was ever flagging into eroticism. And since the Middle Ages have a reputation for worship, both the gallantry of the knight's and the sensuousness of the mystic's verses have at times been conveniently overlooked.

Now in a short essay on the sparkish side of the mediaeval lyric too much space would already have been given to the religious aspect if it were not bound up with the gallant in a way that is wholly characteristic of it. Strange as it may seem, the prayerful leanings of the knight, his need to adore on the threshold of a mystery, are due to gallantry in indefinite suspense: for never did so active a person have to submit to such restraints. Even if the man were loved in return, his Christian conscience unstable before the mortal delights of adultery, his healthy respect for the striking power of his lady's kinsmen and his own unsolved dilemma in doubling the roles of lover and paterfamilias (doing as he would not be done by): all conspired to make him run the gauntlet of the dangers of the Decamerone in fancy when not in fact. He might well sing of *joie de vivre* if his lady shared his affection and was able to show it, but otherwise he was a sorry masochist in this as in his other religion. How often do we not sense behind his mournful well-bred lines the desire to dash in and, lyrically expressed, slay himself on the keen edge of his lady's beauty or, in the epic mode, brave the swords of her kinsmen? Those who doubt this and see a sickly modern poet in a man of caste

mistake their epoch and his and with that the use of poetry by a man of action. Apart from the verses of men who pandered to a fashion for their keep, like Reinmar, such poetry is born of the resisted impulse of the knight to make a wild cast, of his retirement within himself and his patient wait for the chances to improve. Waiting, mastering his inherent barbarism, the knight learned to marvel at the feeling which had so strange a power over him. In this way his arguments *ad feminam* came to be embroidered with imagery from the activities of fighting and gambling, and, since these hankerings to fight and gamble could find no expression in his suit but turned to wonder, his language was further affected by the language of worship.

The knight lived in a state of great tension. But very little of this appears on the surface of the mediaeval lyric, which indeed has a name for passivity. The reason for this is partly to be found in the rising status of women, which as wooer the knight encouraged despite his possessiveness as a husband, and partly in the discretion imposed by a court. Women were persuaded to set a high price on themselves if they could only be brought to set a price at all:¹ while the need for cover in a highly exposed social atmosphere demanded the omission from verses of all marks of identity, especially those touching his lady who was at the mercy of her menfolk. At a time when personality was conceived largely in externals the poet of high Minnesang avoided an autobiographical style and contented himself with ringing the changes on states of mind that pass from cock-a-hoop to suicidal despair. Hiding one's light under a bushel was not without its worldly advantages.

This attitude of respect compounded with discretion gave rise to a poetry that has often been criticized for its vagueness, its limited stock of themes and well-worn generalities. The mediaeval love of craftsmanship, it seems, too often inclined the knight to put his best work into his intricate rime-pattern and the melody which accompanied it. But it is hard to believe that this lack of verbal ornament was entirely due to formal preoccupations. The more gifted mediaeval poets show a wealth of metaphor and simile in their epic on which they might easily have drawn for their lyric had they wished. Few of them might be so learned—or if so learned none so philosophical—as to compare himself like Ibn Hazm of Andalus with an adjective to his lady's noun. But they, too, were able to liken a lady to a loadstone, to a pearl in human form, a brilliant or dominant luminary or a haunting spirit. This suggests that

¹ After which the term 'to serve' steadily depreciated until in some mouths it took a meaning that has since been found useful in the country.

the comparative thriftiness of the lyric was to some extent a matter of choice. The heavy demands of poetic form upon the artist fell in with the major intentions of the man. He had a goose to cook.

Unlike his Arabian contemporaries or ourselves the knight was still too active to take satisfaction in art for art's sake. The nearest approach to this was in Provence, where the making of amorous verses descended to a professional stock-in-trade or a parlour-game. Here, significantly, we do indeed find autobiography, not to mention the cryptic imagery of the *trobar clus* that even now defies elucidation. But in Germany we find all the marks of use. Like everything he takes in hand the poetry of a man of caste must have a personal use: therein lies the strength of his taste.¹

The use to which the knight put his verse was gallantry, in an age when the idea of gallantry if not the very word combined the now divergent meanings of 'bravery with enterprise' and 'a talent for amorous intrigue', and he chose his words above all with a view to playing most effectively on his lady's feelings. To this end he avoided those embellishments which could distract her from his argument, and whose absence we have noted. Seen in this light the argumentative nature of the mediaeval lyric, which persisted into Shakespeare's day and beyond, finds easy explanation. The desire to argue was not a disease the knights caught from the Schoolmen but the sole resort of lovers who beyond the exercise of their personal charm had not even matrimony to offer as bait. Had they lived in a sensitive age of mature or decadent art a quiet spreading of their feathers in bejewelled lyrics might have proved more overpowering. As it was we must believe these peacocks attained their purpose better by firmly repeating the same few plaintive cries.

There is a curious disagreement between the lyric and the epic regarding the manner of 'courting' (to use a word from the village). In the lyric the wooer presented himself humbly as wanting to serve his lady without reward. But it has been shown elsewhere² that if the lady did not favour his suit she must take steps to rid herself of her admirer at once lest she put herself in the wrong in any later attempt to shake him off. It was part of the knight's strategy to interpret a bare lack of comment, her very ignoring him, as a sign that he was admitted to her service, after which the passage of time itself would in theory give him claims to her favour that she would find very difficult to rebut. For by hinting in his

¹ By comparison the bourgeois who is commonly supposed to have an instinct for the useful is for better or for worse the most fantastic of creatures when given his head in poetry.

² *Moritz von Craon*, London *Mediaeval Studies*, I, Pt. 2 (1938), pp. 285 ff. *Vrouwen schouwen*, *Modern Language Review* xxxiv (1939), p. 40.

poetry that a lady (whom some might easily identify despite the conventions) accepted service without requiting it he might hope to deprive her of the attentions of other gentlemen without which a court lady cannot exist. Thus, conscious of his power of blackmail, cautiously feeling his way until he judged the moment had come to cast aside his humility, deftly exploiting a series of deliberate *faux pas* that culminated in a master-stroke, the knight was in the end found raising indignant suit for his 'rights'. In the few poems where the knight discloses his real intentions, chiefly disappointed ones of 'wasted service', we find words that are commonly endowed with a moral meaning, like 'good', emerging in a hitherto unsuspected sense: as when Ulrich von Liechtenstein (now certain that he will not enjoy his lady's favour) swears he will forever remain a ladyless man—unless he find 'a good one'. The anthology of mediaeval German lyrics known as *Minnesangs Frühling* reveals a world in which women become ever more difficult to woo on account of their exceeding virtue, but whether anything nobler was meant by the imputation of virtue in a lady in most cases than when a sailor asks a woman in a harbour town 'to be a good girl' is doubtful.¹ Telling a lady she was good may have had a practical side to it. Far from teaching us that women grew harder to woo, the history of court society shows an unmistakable trend in a direction opposite to that suggested by *Minnesangs Frühling* and we suspect that the very eloquence of the verses in this book may have had something to do with it. Now that there are no longer any 'spilnde ougen' or willing swords to punish us, the ungallant truth must out: women merely grew to expect more lip-service to their virtue, men to speak with their tongue more tightly in their cheeks.

This hazardous game of courting was not without its benefits, however, as we shall see, though of the long list of virtues to which the lover appealed it was generosity which proved the most availing, a worthy object of prayer no doubt. But for the most part the exhortations and insinuations that are the stuff of the mediaeval lyric were prompted by the needs of a thinly disguised but all the more audacious passion for intrigue.

In contrast with this the wooer of the epic was naturally given to deeds

¹ These suspicions find striking confirmation in the words of a priest, who naturally identified himself with the feelings of the court lyric as little as the modern scholar, though unlike the latter he had a moral bias against the knight. 'If you love a pure woman,' he says, 'you will waste your years with care and in vain, for she will never grant you the shame on which your heart is set. Your attitude towards women is rooted in a contradiction: when you desire a woman's shame you praise her to the skies, you say she is fair and wise, noble and good and of a virtuous disposition, that she is pure and constant—and all the time it is your desire that she should abandon all constancy for the sake of your heart's disease' (*Marzenhummelfahrt*, 1657 ff., *ZfdA*, v, 559). I am indebted to Prof. F. Norman for this quotation.

rather than words, and his service consisted almost entirely in fighting with strangers at a distance. Most rarely does the epic hero anticipate his reward, for he really is as modest as the wooer in a lyric claims to be. That is why he is a hero and such is the difference between life and fiction. But the very distance at which the hero's combats take place arouses our suspicions. Were he a live man and so deeply in love he would be tempted to stay and do battle with his lady's kinsmen though held back by his profound respect for them as his social equals. The knight's dilemma, referred to above as an unsolved conflict between the roles of pater-familias and lover, thus finds its ideal solution in the Romantic Epic where his fashionable yet adulterous passion appeared in a form which troubled his conscience no more than the underlying forbidden wishes of his childhood. In these romances the urgency of desires that concerned his neighbour's wife was for a moment lost in battles with strangers for the hand of a maiden princess.

By comparison again the lyric was the self-revealing instrument of a harder world of pent-up feelings, savage disappointments and outbreaks of anger which might easily undo the best efforts of years at a single blow.

It would be tiresome here to enumerate the ways in which verse may be used to press a suit, they are familiar to the whole civilized world, and there is evidence enough that the knight soon became something of a tactician in the matter. But his gallant verse differed from others like the Andalusian and courtly Japanese in that it had a grand strategy. It had an unmistakable social atmosphere, it purveyed a general attitude of mind conducive to love-making, loosened the tongues of a semi-barbarian community and did for them on an incomparably higher scale what the jazz song and its sticky metaphors are now doing for the masses. The knight was just more fortunate in having scholars at home and gentlemen of a higher civilization abroad for his teachers. This needs no long discussion. It remains to inquire into the nature of the illicit passion which inspired it all.

Love experienced through the allegory of service is a thing not often met with in history. Something of the kind was known in Andalusia where women enjoyed a status higher than is generally believed, but even there the wooer's fancy was more likely to be caught by the superior refinement of a courtesan than by the matriarchal dignity of a wife. In mediaeval Japan, to judge by the novels of Lady Murasaki, offences to one's aesthetic sensibility seemed to place the only limitations on one's choice. But these analogies suggest a clue to the mediaeval problem. The attractions of monogamy were evidently not sufficient for the

Andalusian, nor were they for the Japanese. They were not sufficient for the European knight. But his religion insisted on an exclusive marital relation.

In life there are no such perfect solutions of dilemmas as in romances. The knight was forced to compromise and he founded an exclusive relation outside of marriage which borrowed from the virtues of marriage to clear his conscience before himself and the world. It was in this way that what was rank adultery to the doctrinaire was made the source of a rival ethical system, so much so that a priest, Andreas the Chaplain, in a book he consented to write *De Amore*, was able to warm to its defence in a way that leaves us in some doubt as to the sincerity of his apology at the end. That remarkable text *Moritz von Craon* assures us of this: the Christian life set standards of conduct of which the hot-blooded knight was constantly falling short, but love-service with its partial sublimation of sturdy instincts offered a form of Christianity that was watered down to the capacity of the better sort of knight to assimilate it. He could be loyal, brave, chaste, humble—for his lady! In fairness to him we must remember there were alternatives even more repugnant to the priesthood. The contributory causes in the creation of this system were various—the higher legal status of women here, loveless dynastic marriages there and the superior education of women in most places—but these do not explain the cult of lady-service for which there is no true parallel in the history of civilization. It was the Christian conscience of a semi-barbarian community that gave love-service its peculiar quality. Excusing himself for his forbidden desires, ever reassuring his lady of her virtuousness, hinting darkly at the existence of worse women than herself, of worse crimes than adultery, the knight turned inventor in his need and created the first worldly philosophy of our era.

Perhaps the knight's own way of differentiating between his feelings for his wife and for his lady will lead us further. On behalf of the knight-hood Andreas the Chaplain in an oft-quoted passage maintains that love in the fashionable sense we are attempting to describe cannot exist between husband and wife. A knight of Hohenstaufen Germany would speak of his wife as *diu vil liebe kone min* or more frequently as *min vil liebez wip*, an expression of great affection riming as it does with *sie ist mir lieb alsam der lip*, and in every way worthy of the mother of his children and the guardian of his intense family pride. On the other hand the phrase he constantly uses of his lady is: *si dunket mich* quot. This is a critical phrase, an estimate of an effect one person can have on another, a grudging admission of an influence coming from without. It is a response to all the charm of novelty, a stirring of interest and enterprise

to meet a challenge. In the last resort this phrase contains an aesthetic judgement whose serenity is about to be dispersed by passion. (All of this in spite of the use of the word *guot* in a sense that was highly idiomatic, to say the least.) We know that after this came submission and a battle for self-mastery in a type of man who was otherwise convinced of his superiority, who had no urgent need of a clandestine affair and who moreover showed so little control over his other passion of fighting that he endangered the very existence of his caste for the lack of it.

This was one of the few miracles we are now prepared to accept as such from the Middle Ages. Whatever we think of the cult of Minnedienst we cannot deny it a certain generosity of heart and an increased awareness of perception. For unlike the puritanical bourgeois of a later age the knight could not find it in him to be insulted by the grace and beauty of another man's wife. Even if his ardent attentions were accompanied by qualms of conscience, they lacked the ugly hypocrisy of the double standards for men and women of the Victorian age, and, admirable saving grace, he was ready to pay his way if need be with his life.

Whoever reads these early verses (especially *Wechsel* and *Frauentropfen*) in this spirit will find in them considerable finesse, resolution and lovable resource. In Morungen's we are struck by the sincere poetry of his relationship, in Hartmann's we see a man who finally chose what were to him more solid things and was able to tell us why. Social conditions have changed too much in the meantime for the poetry of these vivid people to have a message for us, as some have suggested, but when we reflect that one day our own poetry and our own passions will depend for their last sparks of life on the mercy of scholars, the curiosity which inspired this inquiry may perhaps be indulgently received. Hartmann saw his position as narrator of the bygone deeds of Arthur's knights with astonishing clarity and we repeat his words now, looking back on him and his fascinating contemporaries, though as befits this sadder and wiser age with less romanticism and more irony: 'They had an ideal life at court there in every way. The court was gladdened for them by many a maid and lady, the fairest of the baronage. It saddens me, and if it were of any avail I should complain, that now-a-days we cannot have such happiness as they enjoyed in their hey-day. But we must see to it that we do not fall short: I cannot say I should prefer to have lived then if that meant I should not be alive now when we are just about to have the pleasure of the telling of what they had the pleasure of doing.'¹

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¹ Hartmann von Ouwe, *Iwein*, lines 43-58.

THE 'KÖNIGSBERGER ZWISCHENSPIELE' OF 1644 AND THE DUTCH COMEDY: A STUDY IN METRICS

THE *Königsberger Zwischenspiele*¹ of 1644 stand almost alone in the Low German literature of their time by reason of their metrical form. The wildly irregular rhyming verses of these pieces approximate so closely to the rhythm of prose that one is tempted to put them away without further consideration into the pigeon-hole conveniently labelled 'Rhyming Prose' which already contains so many disparate and half-forgotten productions. Such attention as has been given them has been perfunctory and mainly overlaid by considerations of content and dialect.

The author of the *Zwischenspiele* is unknown. They are written as comic interludes to a translation of Frischlin's *Hildegardis Magna*² produced for the centenary celebrations of the Albertus-Universität at Königsberg in 1644. They consist of three scenes dealing with peasant life, all written in an irregular verse, lines rhyming in pairs. They are lively and vital pictures of peasant milieu, and the long lines lend an air of colloquial movement to the dialogue. The scansion is by sentence stress, the number of beats is irregular, but the basic number appears to be four. The metre would thus be an extension of what Heusler calls the 'freie Knittel':

Darem seg eck, weren wy dissem Ding nor ehr vergekahmen
On hadden en oder dertich op de Seel genahmen
Wat gelts, wy weren ver den Dewen to fred geblewen
Hadden em nich so vel Vectalgen dorffen gewen. (1, 9-12.)

These verses may be classed as 'Knittel'. The four beats are still distinguishable. But what of these?

He leth my aß dem Schulten en dem Derp anseggen
Wyl he by synen Gästen nich wol Schemp enleggen,
Sall ick em, wie he synem Kaptein Leichnam haad befahlen,
Zwee Ohme Weyn, Cofect, Famerantzen, geschnerte Bloomen, vor allen Dingen awer
5 Pundt Schmook-Topack met twe Dutz Pypen uth der Stadt halen. (1, 28-31.)

Wat helt man van enem vernehmen Buurgesellen, aß eck sy, de der nich en Loch
en de Welt springt
On na enem güldnen Wagen ringt!
Denn wy man secht, en so enor, krecht he nych de Reeder, dat es geweß,
So krecht he doch op dat geringste van dem Wagen de Leß.

¹ Reprinted by Johannes Bolte in *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, 1890, pp. 112 ff.

² *HILDEGARDIS MAGNAE | COMOEDIA, | Auß dem Frischlino ins Deutsche übersetzt, und im ersten Königsbergi-schen Academischen Jubel-Jahr Anno 1644. den 27. Augusti ex-/hibiret. | In obgedachtem Jahr | Zu Königsberg in Preußen | Gedruckt und verlegt durch Paschen Menze* 8vo. One unique copy in the Library of the Academy of Sciences at Leningrad.

Eck heb hen on heer by my gedocht, wy eckt doch macken wel, dat eck to Ehren
 . kehm; eck meend. wen wy ergents en de Stadt wor warden Garst fehren,
 So wel eck met henen on wel darbennen wor dat Bergermeister-Handwerk lehren.
 (II, 3-8.)

The number of syllables varies from nine to thirty-five, the number of beats from four to nine! Yet the impression of the work as a whole convinces the reader that this is not just bad versification. It is a different verse form.

Middle Low German literature has no tradition which could lead to such a verse. The decay of the 'free Knittel' in Low Germany was indeed evident, as everywhere else, but its wilder consequences are not common. The most evident examples in the later periods are the *Bordesholmer Marienklage*¹ (1475), Gories Peerse's poem *Van Island* (1561),² and in the seventeenth century the original version of Johann Lauremberg's *Niederdeutsche Scherzgedichte*. These examples are each separated from the other by an interval of nearly 100 years, and are isolated occurrences. High German literature also has no such tradition.

Both the University and the Town of Königsberg in the seventeenth century looked to the west beyond Germany to Holland. The Town had particular connexions through its trade. The two booms across the Pregel showed by their names the directions which the interests of the citizens took. The boom above the town was the Litauerbaum, the boom to seaward the Holländerbaum. One whole quarter—the Rossgarten—was inhabited mainly by descendants of exiled Netherlanders of the same type as those who contributed so largely to the life of Danzig. The export of the produce of the interior—timber, furs and pitch, which came down the river past the Litauerbaum—took the Königsbergers to Holland and the Hollanders to Königsberg. The University, as a Protestant Humanist foundation, looked to the Holland of Heinsius and Grotius as to the centre of Protestant Humanist learning and sent her alumni in increasing numbers to Amsterdam and Leyden, to Groningen and Franeker. The business acumen of the great printing houses of Amsterdam and Rotterdam was responsible for setting up branches in Danzig and Königsberg where their publications could be directly obtained.³ Throughout the

¹ G. Kuhl, *Nd. Jahrbuch*, xxiv (1898), pp. 1 ff.

² W. Seelmann, *Nd. Jahrbuch*, ix (1883), pp. 110 ff.

³ 'Der dreyßigjährige Krieg, welcher das Buchergewerbe in Deutschland unterbrach und den Besuch der Messen gefährlich machte, verursachte zwar auch in Preußen emigen Mangel an nothigen Büchern; aber eben dieser veranlaßte auch den Abdruck verschiedener derselben hier zur Stelle. Danachst gab er Gelegenheit, daß damals die in Holland gedruckten Bücher aus der ersten Hand und in größerer Menge hergebracht wurden, als es nachher geschehen ist.' G. C. Pisanski, *Entwurf einer preußischen Literaturgeschichte*, ed. C. Philippi, Königsberg, 1886, p. 284.

countryside Dutchmen left their mark on architecture, painting, music and agriculture.¹

In the literary field, Dutch influence, here as elsewhere, was most evident in scholarship. The poets of the Königsberg Circle, though their middle-class milieu and the whole temper of their writings ally them more closely to the great bourgeois democracy of the west than to most of their German compatriots, show little direct influence. Roberthin's translations of Camphuysen are almost the only documentary evidence for an influence which is based on similarity of temperament and environment rather than on direct borrowing, but for that very reason is all the more pervasive and difficult to grasp.

Against this general background the *Zwischenspiele* take on a new aspect. If the metre stands alone in contemporary German literature, Dutch may perhaps provide a clue. A parallel can be found in the long 'Rederijkersvers' of Brederoo and his contemporaries.

The origin of this verse has never been satisfactorily explained. It arises evidently from the 'free Knittel' of the mediaeval farces:

Wildt die waerheit wel verstaen
Die tijt es u bi nachte ontgaen.²

(*Rubben*, late 15th century.)

Four beats, with the number of syllables varying between 7 and 11, averaging 8. This form was expanded in the sixteenth century to include more syllables to the line, the number of beats remaining the same. As Kossmann remarks, 'een vers van 10 lettergrepen zou men vroeger onder de lange moeten rekenen, in dezen tijd zal het tot de kortste behooren'.³ This tendency continued until to a rhyme-loving people the individual line became long enough to carry an internal rhyme *aaAb* before the caesura. The internal rhyme appears as early as 1480 in *Marieke van Nieuweghen*, where it has a stylistic function, namely to underline specially dramatic passages (cf. the rhyming couplets in the Elizabethan dramatists). In the sixteenth century, however, the device became generalized, and was doubtless recognized as a useful method of knitting the often rather rambling lines together:

¹ Art and Architecture: Anton Ulbrich, *Kunstgeschichte Ostpreußens*, Königsberg, 1933, pp. 102, 110; G. Fritsch, *Prussia*, vol. xxxi. Music: G. Kusel, *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Königsberg i. Pr.*, Königsberg, 1923, pp. 6, 12. Agriculture: Walther Maas, 'Haulandereien, Hollandereien', in *Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Polen*, Heft 29, 1935; Stefan Inglot, 'Problem kolonizacji flamandzko-holenderskiej w Niemczech i w Polsce', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, XLIII (1929).

² Jan van Vloten, *Het Nederlandsche Kluchtspel van de 14de tot de 18e eeuw*, 3 vols., Haarlem, 1877, I, p. 33.

³ Fr. Kossmann, *Nederlandsch Versrythme*, The Hague, 1927, p. 27.

Ic moetse wat veegen ende schoon *maecken*
 Ende ooc mijn cap versetten voor alle *saecken*.
 Och ic hoor mijn mand *craecken*, ic moet mijn ayeren *besien*.
 Waper! moord! hier isser alree ghebroken *ien*,
 Want vlus haddicker *tien* ende nu heb icker neghen...¹ (1596.)

The internal rhyme tends to make the verse longer, as can be seen in the example given above, since the rhyme was felt as a definite division. A pause was probably made there in speaking, as the old printed editions always put a virgula after the internal rhyme. It seems almost as though another 'Auftakt' were allowed after the rhyme, and it is usually the 'Auftakt' which plays the chief part in lengthening the verse.

Ontbeyt, my dunct ic sie ginder een quacksalver staen;
 Daer willic tóe gáen || en sien oft Meester Kakadórís is.² (1596)

By this means lines of 14 and 15 syllables become common, the average number of syllables is 11 to 12, as against the mediaeval average of 8. The form and rhythm of the 'free Knittel', with its four beats, though altered, is not yet broken.

This much is so well known as to be commonplace. The decisive factor in the final dissolution of the 'Knittel' is still unknown, and to give a final explanation would be a task for a full-length doctoral dissertation. This paper can only sketch a possible line of development, since we are here concerned with the tradition of a verse, and only secondarily with the details of its genesis.

The dissolution appears after the introduction of the Alexandrine and its use by the Rederijkers. The Alexandrine for them was a syllabic measure, into which any number of beats could be put—four, five, six or seven. It appears possible that this circumstance disturbed the feeling for rhythm in the Knittel (already strained).³ The Rederijkers further became infected with the theory that a verse may be as long as the speaker has breath to utter it. The Chamber of the 'Witte Acoleykens' in a competition held at Leiden in 1596 directed:

In *als hout vrye maet*, laet u aen geen sillaben knopen:
 Met eenen aessem uytgesproken, een verjolijsen is.⁴

Another disturbing influence was that of 'enumeration'. The endless descriptions of weapons, armour and garments in the mediaeval epics arranged the enumerations in which the authors delighted into series of verses. The didactic poems, made by poets of lesser calibre in the main.

¹ 'Tafelspel van Meester Kackadórís ende een doof wijf met ayeren', in van Vloten, op. cit., p. 54.

² van Vloten, op. cit., p. 56.

³ I owe this suggestion to Dr G. Kazemier of the Hague.

⁴ Kossmann, op. cit., pp. 18, 21.

include lines where enumeration bursts the rhythmic structure altogether. C. G. N. de Vooy has given a classic example in *Taal en Letteren* 1905 (p. 143) from *De Niwe Doctrinael*:

Mer aldus heeft mense int latijn:
 Vana gloria, Elacio, Contumelia, Contemptus,
 Insolencia, Contemcio, Presumcio, Inobediencia; aldus
 Hebdire achte....

The love of enumeration was not restricted to the Middle Ages, and reference to the quotations from the *Königsberger Zwischenspiele* given above will show that the most monstrous lines are products of it. There is no doubt that in the plays it produced a comic effect

At the beginning of the seventeenth century we find the Knittel in a state of dissolution in the hands of the Rederijkers, but still being used by Hooft.

Here arises the problem—why should Hooft, that wonderful formal artist, use a form so irregular and so shaky? The answer supplies yet another factor in the development of the 'Rederijkersvers'. Hooft in *Warenar* was engaged on turning the *Aulularia* of Plautus into Amsterdamseh and used the popular verse partly to give local colour, but probably mainly because he, like many men of his time, was in doubt as to the scansion of the comic verses of Plautus and Terence and considered the irregular and degenerate 'Knittel' a suitable equivalent form. André Jolles has shown how classical literature pervaded the minds of Dutch artists and men of letters in the seventeenth century, even when they seemed most Dutch and realistic.¹ The example of the seeming irregularities of the Latins spurred on the Dutch to great efforts, which amounted to the regeneration of the 'free Knittel' as a free verse form for the stage, the basic number of beats still being four, but often increasing to five or even six, and the number of syllables occasionally rising to 18 or even 20. A few examples, chosen at random, follow:

Hooft:

'k Lach liever in vijf en twintich Veghevieren, dan ick gingh met een rijkc wijf
 prallen.

Wat hettet te beduyen, je soud'een mensch een jeught int lijf kallen.

(*Warenar*, 759–60.)

Brederoo:

Dat lichtvaerdighe hersebecken sel noch van de donder breken.

Gy selt den dach niet leven dat gy jou bienen selt by my ondersteken.

Loopt, dat gy besucht en bekrenckt wort, gy overdadige schavuyt.

Heer, hoe koom ick an dussen man? Och ick krijt mijn oogen uyt!

(*Klucht van de Meulenaer*, 519–22.)

¹ André Jolles, 'Der Humanismus und die niederländische Dichtung des XVIIten Jahrhunderts', *Neue Jahrbücher* (1920), p. 214.

De Meullenaars (mijn Heer) die hebben nu een aar verstand
 Zy speelen houwt wat en gheeft wat. Immers door't voorloopen van goe-mannen.
 So wordender mijn vaar in't heymelijck om egieselt en uyt ebannen.
 (Spaansche Brabander, 80-2)

Mathias Gansneb Tengnagel:

Neen begort! je bint van een are ras. je moer was mijn eygen vleeselyke poet
 Die mitter degelyke ouwers uyt Mechelen most, niet om't kattelijck geloof, datje't
 weet;
 Maer / tussen onse vier ooren ezezt, om zucke dingen,
 Die wel eer een vroom man in zijn eygen deur, dede Uyt den diepten O Heere singen.
 (Klucht van Frick in't Veurhuys, 1641.)

The circumstance that long verses such as these, measured almost more by sentence stress than by anything else, aided naturalistic dialogue and comic patter on the stage to an enormous degree appealed to the spirit of the nation which produced Teniers, Breughel and Jan Steen. Even the solemn Spieghel in the *Tweespruack van de nederduitsche letterkunst* had said that in stage plays 'zoud' ick elck na lust vriicheid laten (gelijck men van ouds ook gehad heeft) op dat de taal het ghewonlyck spreken best ghelyke'. As the seventeenth century progressed, the verses became longer and more irregular (Tengnagel's *Klucht van Frick in't Veurhuys* quoted above show the beginning of the more extreme phase) until with Pieter Langendijk the international Alexandrine conquered even this tough domain, bringing with it eighteenth-century urbanity and polish, to the detriment of juicy vitality. Robbeknol, Symen sonder Soeticheyt, Trijn Jans could not use that idiom, and the Sancho Panza of *Don Quichot aan de Bruiloft van Kamacho* is pale beside Leckerbeetjen.

There existed therefore in Holland a tradition of a free verse form for farce and comedy, used by the most eminent poets. The nearest approach to such verses in Low German literature appears in satire and narrative poetry. The *Königsberger Zwischenspiele* are thus comprehensible only against a Dutch background. It is conceivable that the unknown author may have been a Dutchman, though in view of the accurate handling of the difficult East Prussian dialect this possibility must be discounted. The learned professors of Königsberg had many among their number who had studied in Holland. The Danzig bookseller Ägidius Jansson van Waesberge had a depôt at Königsberg as late as 1656, of which a catalogue is recorded.¹ He doubtless acted as an agent for the productions of his relations, Pieter and Jan Janssoon van Waesberghe in Rotterdam, who

¹ Pisanski, op. cit., p. 284. The catalogue he mentions is: *Catalogus librorum theologicorum, juridicorum, medicorum, historicorum, philosophicorum, mathematicorum, literatorum et idiomate germanico, gallico, italico, hispanico et belgico conscriptorum Officinae Janssonianae, quae est Regiomonti Borussiae*, N.D. As no book later than 1656 is mentioned in it, Pisanski dates it 1656 or 1657. In spite of vigilant search, I have been unable to find a copy of this catalogue.

published an edition of Hooft's *Warenar* in 1630 and an edition of the plays of Brederoo in 1622. The Wallenrodtsche Bibliothek in Königsberg possesses a copy of this edition, in which a late seventeenth-century Wallenrodt has written: 'K. N. W. Dieses Buch hat seiner grossväterlichen Bibliothek nie verleihen wollen. Ernst W. v. Wallenrodt.' The book was evidently a treasured possession, to be read by later generations only in the splendid library in the tower of the Cathedral. The unknown author of the *Zwischenspiele* had ample opportunity therefore to become acquainted with the works of the Dutch writers, and has followed them in the spirit not unworthily.¹

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¹ Bolte, op. cit., p. 113, compares, on grounds of similarity of content alone, the second interlude (*Hansemann und die hutsche Polin*) with the *Overysselsche Boere-Vryage*. But this similarity is not conclusive, and indeed goes no further than the most general resemblance in motif. Many other Dutch or indeed German farces could be adduced with equal relevance.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

THE 'GRACIOUS DUNCAN'

The character of King Duncan presented to Shakespeare something of an artistic problem; for Duncan must have the innate goodness of a God-appointed sovereign, in contrast to the wicked usurper Macbeth;¹ and yet his loss of the crown must be made to seem reasonable and natural: he must be kingly, but must fall from kingship. According to Elizabethan stage-convention, the first words of a character or the comments of others when he first appears should give a clue to his personality and to his position in the play; but Duncan's refer merely to 'The newest state' of the rebellion: they explain the political situation with which the play starts, but reveal nothing of his character beyond his natural interest in the outcome of the battle. Sometimes Shakespeare's source suggests his interpretation of a figure, as in the case of Mercutio in Brooke and in *Romeo and Juliet*;² but the Duncan of Holinshed is not portrayed as a competent and effective monarch, and so would not do for Shakespeare's political theme, the contrast of a good legitimacy with an evil usurpation. Holinshed's Duncan is 'so soft and gentle of nature' that he allows crimes to go unpunished, and so is too lax and easy-going to rule effectively. Holinshed does not attempt to explain his character in terms of the prevailing theory of the 'humours'; but such a personality as he describes would doubtless be of the phlegmatic complexion fit for dullards and for girls. This humour would not do for Shakespeare's idealized king, appointed at birth by God to rule the nation. Duncan's humour must be benign but ineffectual. The choleric temper would give him too much strength to lose the Crown; and melancholy hardly consorts with kingship—as evidenced in the tragic downfall of Lear;³ but the sanguine temper was at once charming and easily deceived; and thus it fitted the part that Duncan had to play both in the plot and also in the theme of the tragedy. Therefore, Shakespeare might well make Duncan sanguine.

The sanguine type was good—as a prince should be—but Duncan's goodness significantly appears more in the comment of those about him than in any effective way that he puts it into practice. Both Lennox

¹ See the present author, "Macbeth" as a Compliment to James I', *Eng. Studien*, LXXII, 207 et seq.

² See the present author, *R.E.S.*, xv, 24-5.

³ See the present author, 'The old Age of King Lear', *J.E.G.P.*, XXXIX, 527 et seq.

and Macbeth call him 'the gracious Duncan'.¹ The very murderer who plots to seize his throne declares:

...this *Duncane*
Hath borne his Faculties so meeke; hath bin
So cleere in his great Office, that his Vertues
Will pleade like Angels, Trumpet-tongu'd against
The deepe damnation of his taking-off....²

Lady Macbeth sees him in innocent sleep, and compares him to her own father; and everyone is horrified at his death. Macbeth himself takes for granted that he sleeps 'well' in his grave and that his soul will go straight to 'heaven'; and Macduff calls him 'a most sainted king'.³ Although Sir Thomas Elyot associated the sanguine humour with the sudden anger usually ascribed to choler,⁴ most psycho-medical writers took it as a genial and pleasing temper. Batman⁵ and Lemnius⁶ declared it the best of all the humours; and Dariot wrote that the planet Jupiter, which governed this type, brought the 'greatest fortune'. The humour was therefore appropriate to those in great place, and the sanguine man was properly 'iust, true, beneuolent, liberall, faithfull, milde, godly, shamefast, magnanimous...honorable, faithfull and happie'.⁷ Shortly after he is introduced, Duncan illustrates most of these qualities: his justice condemns the traitor Cawdor; he is liberal to Macbeth; everyone testifies to his mild and godly temper; and he certainly appears to be 'happie'.

The sanguine humour, however, had also weaknesses that might destroy this most blessed condition and even change the humour itself, as it did for the nonce in Romeo⁸ and in Hamlet,⁹ into a dangerous melancholy. Its 'faithfull' temper and its 'constant loving affection'¹⁰ made its votaries too trusting to be altogether practical;¹¹ and, early in the play, Duncan is represented as utterly deceived in the traitorous Cawdor; and, when disabused, he bitterly generalizes:

There's no Art,
To finde the Mindes construction in the Face:
He was a Gentleman, on whom I built
An absolute Trust.¹²

Likewise, in Act I, he repeatedly stresses the 'great love' between himself and Macbeth, and so prepares the audience for an even greater deception.

¹ *Macbeth*, ed. Furness var., III, i, 77; and III, vi, 6 and 13.

² *Ibid.*, I, vii, 20 et seq.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, iii, 125.

⁴ T. Elyot, *Castell of Helth*, London, 1541, f. 2r.

⁵ *Batman upon Bartholome*, London, 1582, f. 30r.

⁶ L. Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, London, 1581, ff. 86v and 87v.

⁷ C. Dariot, *Iudgement of the Starres*, London, 1598, sig. D 2v.

⁸ See the present author, 'Shakespeare's "Star-Crossed Lovers"', *R.E.S.*, xv, 16 et seq.

⁹ See the present author, *The 'Hamlet' of Shakespeare's Audience*, Durham, N.C., 1938, Chap. ix.

¹⁰ T. W[alkington], *Optick Glasse of Humors*, London, [? 1631], p. 116.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹² *Macbeth*, I, iv, 16 et seq.

In fact, he places himself in Macbeth's own castle 'in double trust',¹ without adequate personal safeguards, and indeed he suffers the penalty of his over-confidence. Thus Duncan expresses the traits of the sanguine type not only in his rule but in his downfall.

This humour was appropriate to courtiers, and so was good-natured.² 'affable in speech' and 'liberally minded';³ and Duncan is not only a gracious king but also a charming guest. Lady Macbeth is his 'honor'd hostess' and the subject of a whole complimentary speech. She is his 'Fair and noble hostess'; he is in 'unusual pleasure' at the banquet that she gives; and, when it is over, he sends 'great largesse' to her and her husband. Indeed, like Claudius in *Hamlet*, he is the charming monarch of the Renaissance rather than a drastic and fiery Lear of the Dark Ages: and thus he is a misfit in his times. Not only is his trust ill-placed, but even his liberality and graciousness are impolitic and ill-timed. He freely—perhaps too freely—bestows his praises on Macbeth as 'valiant' and 'worthy', on Ross who is also 'worthy', and on his 'peerless kinsman' Banquo. Duncan weakly cries for joy over his victorious generals: it took more than that to bring tears to the eyes of royal Lear, even in his dotage. Indeed, he lauds Macbeth extravagantly, and then, with unbecoming abasement, speaks of 'The sin of my ingratitude' toward him. Does this not somewhat cheapen the good opinion of God's Anointed? Duncan further declares:

I haue begun to plant thee, and will labour
To make thee full of growing.⁴

His mere use of the intimate pronoun of address was in itself a tremendous condescension. Yet, after all these fulsome promises, he at once makes his son Malcolm Duke of Cumberland and so bestows on him the greatest prize of an elective monarchy, the position of Crown Prince: could there be a more ironic political ineptitude! Was all this talk of future 'growing' but the prologue and omen of appointing another to the coveted place? Is this a case of the 'Wilfulness' that Lennius attributes to the humour?⁵

The sanguine temper was associated with middle age,⁶ the 'Prime' of life, and was compared to summer:⁷ perhaps one might therefore question whether Duncan was not too old for it. He is often portrayed on the stage as very elderly; but most of the evidence does not bear this out. Lady Macbeth, to be sure, compares him to her father 'as he slept'; but this is hardly conclusive, for she might remember her father as he was in

¹ *Macbeth*, I, vii, 16.

² Walkington, op. cit., p. 116.

³ Lennius, op. cit., ed. 1576, f. 101.

⁴ *Macbeth*, I, iv, 37 et seq.

⁵ Ibid., ed. 1581, ff. 29v and 30.

⁶ H. Cuffe, *Differences of the Ages of Mans Life*, London, 1607, pp. 108-9.

middle life. Duncan's sons seem to be quite young men; and this would suggest a Duncan not yet fifty. Certainly, the King was, like Chaucer's Monk, a 'pricasour aright'; for, on the way to Inverness, he 'coursed' at the heels of the impatient Macbeth. If he were very old, moreover, why should Macbeth and his Lady have plotted to murder him for the Crown? Truly, Duncan is no doting Lear; and his mistakes in judging Cawdor and Macbeth are due, not to senility, but to an original and innate defect in character. He is sanguine like Romeo, and, being sanguine, lacks the caution that foresees and evades the pitfalls of catastrophe.

Some may question the value of studying Shakespeare's characters from the angle of contemporary psycho-medicine, and may point out that we have always known that hot-tempered men like Cassio¹ are easily led to rashness, and that charming, liberal-minded men like Duncan are likely to impute to others their own virtues, and so are easily led astray. This is of course merely stating in effect that the theories of Galenic medicine are largely based on accurate general observation—as indeed they must have been to merit acceptance for so many centuries. These are the concepts and the phraseology in which Shakespeare had to speak because there was no other; and a full understanding of these concepts reveals to us the characters in his plays as Elizabethans saw them. Knowing these theories, one sees a character's separate traits fall into a unified pattern: one sees how every part of Cassio's role expresses some aspect of his choler; one sees how Duncan's goodness and geniality and over-trustfulness and impolitic liberality—which start the plot in motion—indeed, his every major speech and action, are consistently sanguine. Thus the vital integrity of Shakespeare's characterization becomes apparent; and, if the figure reacts to the plot by showing progressive change, like Shylock² or Coriolanus,³ this evolution, stage by stage, becomes clear to us moderns, as it was to the Elizabethans. Surely, such study has amply rewarded the votaries of Chaucer; and Shakespeare scholars, therefore, should not quite ignore it.

The sanguine humour is the natural bent of Romeo, of Orlando, and of Hamlet: it brings Romeo to a precipitate love-affair and so to his death; Hamlet struggles against his fate, turns melancholy from frustration and finally meets a tragic end; Orlando lives happily ever after, but his love was more fortunately placed than Romeo's, and Adam revealed

¹ See the present author, 'The Choleric Cassio', *Bull. Hist. Med.*, vii, 583 et seq.

² See the present author, 'The Psychology of Shylock', *ibid.*, viii, 643 et seq.

³ See the present author, 'Shakespeare's Coriolanus', *W. Va. Univ. Stud. Phil.*, iii (1939), 22 et seq.

to him Oliver's nefarious plot and so saved his trusting nature.¹ Duncan is fooled to the top of his bent, without an Adam or even a Ghost to warn him; and his sanguine nature quickly succumbs before Macbeth's deception. Shakespeare had to draw him as virtuous, and so, in order to motivate his downfall, made him too virtuous for his time and for his place as king: royalty in that age had to be made of sterner, choleric stuff. Just as the mercurial Macbeth is a misfit in his royal robe,² and also Lady Macbeth in her guise as co-conspirator,³ so Duncan also is a misfit in the role where life has cast him. This causes his tragedy: and his tragedy fitly ushers in the parallel tragedies of his two murderers, the main subject of the play. From this point of view, the theme of the piece is the ruinous incompatibility of a man's inner self with the demands of his social place—a common situation of daily life—and so Duncan's downfall is an appropriate prologue to the swelling scenes that follow. Such a similarity of tragic flaw in the three chief characters gives an added unity to the drama: it was clear to Elizabethans, but to us it is discernible only by the study of contemporary psycho-medicine.

JOHN W. DRAPER.

MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA.

HENRY FIELDING IN PRISON

Henry Fielding's ardent and unabating opposition to Sir Robert Walpole has been vividly described in Mr W. L. Cross's *History of Henry Fielding*.⁴ What Fielding biographers do not mention, however, is the report of an imprisonment of Fielding, and of his release through the intervention of the great statesman. This episode, whether real or fictitious, is described in a rare pamphlet, *An Historical View of the Principles, Characters, Persons, &c. of the Political Writers in Great Britain. Viz. Mr. P—y, Lord C—, Lord B—, D. of A—le, Mr. S—, &c. &c. &c. Also The Names and Characters of the Authors of the Craftsman, Common-Sense, Champion, Englishman's Evening Post, Daily Gazetteer, &c. In a Letter to Monsieur M—s, from Monsieur B—s, Private Agent these twenty Years past from the C—t of F—ce, in England. Translated from the French* (London: Printed for W. Webb, near St. Paul's. 1740).⁵

¹ See the present author, 'Shakespeare's "Orlando Innamorato"', *Mod. Lang. Quart.*, about to appear.

² See the present author, 'Macbeth, "Infirm of Purpose"', *Bull. Hist. Med.*, about to appear.

³ See the present author, 'Lady Macbeth', *Psychoan. Rev.*, about to appear

⁴ New Haven, 1918.

⁵ From a copy in the Harvard College Library.

As the title indicates, the publication is a satirical attack on the journalists of London, and Fielding as the principal editor of the *Champion* came in for his share of attention. Towards the end of his account of the editors, the writer relates the following:

The next paper I am to take notice of is an Evening Post, intitled, the *Champion*. This paper was at first publish'd three times a Week in the Mornings, but not being able to hold up its Head in that Form, it was chang'd into an Evening Paper; in which Shape it has had some Success, and gain'd over some of the lower Class of Readers. The Humour that appears in the Letters is of a peculiar Strain, and of that kind which takes exceedingly with the lower kind of Readers here, and he seems to have laid in a good Stock of Abuse and Scurrility. The News are in this Paper disposed of in a peculiar Manner, which is mighty diverting to the Generality of his Readers, though the *Englishman* has of late imitated him in that Particular, but there is very little Solidity appears thro' the whole, and it is generally thought that his flashy Wit must be soon exhausted. The Person who conducts this Paper chiefly is one *F—ng*, Son to a General Officer of that Name, and Author of several Pieces that had some Success on the Stage. He is a strong Instance of Ingratitude to the Ministry, as he lies under the strongest Obligations to Sir *R—rt W—le*, whom he now treats with a Stram of Insolence and Scurrility superior to any other Paper ever went before, not excepting even the *Craftsman* or *Common-Sense*. I have some Reasons to know particular Obligations he lies under to the Minister, who once generously reliev'd him by sending him a considerable Supply of ready Money when he was arrested in a Country-Town some Distance from *London*, and must have rotted in Prison had it not been for this Generosity in the Minister. Soon after he libelled him personally in a Satyr, and next Week had the Impudence to appear at his *Levee*. Upon Sir *R—t's* taxing him with his Ingratitude, and asking him why he had wrote so and so; he answered very readily, *that he wrote that he might eat*. However Sir *R—t* still continued his Generosity to him, till he grew quite abandon'd to all Sense of Shame. He then set up for a Play-Writer, and pushed his natural Turn for Ridicule and Satyr so far, that upon the Ministry getting into their Hands a Play in Manuscript wrote by him, it was thought proper to pass the Act by which the Stage was subjected to a Licencer, who was to grant a Licence for every Piece that should appear upon the Theatre Sir *R—t* one Day, while this Bill was debated in the House of C—s, pull'd this Play out of his Pocket, and read some Passages of it in the House, which disgusted the Members so much, that very little farther Opposition was made to the Bill. Even the strongest Opposers of it were ashamed that the Liberty of the Stage and Press should be prostituted to such vile Purposes, and so much infamous Scurrility, and some of the best Well-wishers to the Liberty of the Subject here want to see the Press laid under some wholesome Regulations as well as the Stage.

This Gentleman has an Assistant in his Paper, one *R—ph*, who has been sufficiently exposed in the *Dunciad*, and whose Name was very industriously conceal'd, lest the Character of a Person so famous for Dulness might do harm to the Paper.¹

The phrase 'then set up for a Play-Writer', places the alleged imprisonment in the obscure years before the *première* of *Love in Several Masques* (1728), Fielding's first play. Possibly the 'libel' referred to is one (or both) of the bantering poems on Walpole which Fielding included in the first volume of his 1743 *Miscellanies*.

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¹ pp. 48-51.

ANN RADCLIFFE AND DUCRAY-DUMINIL

It is probable that to the list of Mrs Radcliffe's sources for the *Romance of the Forest* (1791)¹ there should be added a French romance, *Aleris, ou la Maisonnette dans les bois*, written by François-Guillaume Ducray-Duminil and published in Paris in 1789. The French story has certain general resemblances to Mrs Radcliffe's novel, which may or may not be fortuitous; but one series of scenes affords so striking a parallel that there can be little doubt that Mrs Radcliffe was under obligations to her French contemporary for some of the most memorable episodes in the *Romance of the Forest*.

The principal *mise en scène* of the *Romance*, it will be recalled, is the ancient Abbey of St Clair, situated in the 'wild and solitary' forest of Fontanville. This gloomy ruin is the hiding-place of Pierre La Motte and his family, and of the orphan Adeline, who has taken refuge with them. While exploring the abbey on one occasion, La Motte descends to a secret chamber, 'a square stone room', whose walls, 'dripping with unwholesome dews, were entirely bare and afforded not even a window'. Here, in a low recess, he finds a great chest containing 'the remains of a human skeleton'.² The abbey has formerly been the scene of foul play, and as the story unfolds we learn that the gruesome relics which La Motte uncovered are the remains of Adeline's father, murdered by his brother, the wicked Marquis of Montalt.

Although Adeline herself never actually sees the secret chamber, with its 'dismal spectacle', it forms the subject of mysterious dreams which disturb her sleep during her sojourn at the abbey. In these visions she thinks herself bewildered in some dark winding passage of St Clair. After a wearisome interval she observes a distant glimmer of light, and she is suddenly approached by a stranger wearing a funeral cloak and bearing a torch. Calling upon her to follow him he leads her 'through a long passage to the foot of a staircase'. Again, her unknown guide beckons her through 'a suite of very ancient apartments, hung with black, and lighted up as if for a funeral', into a chamber containing 'a coffin, covered with a pall', and surrounded by 'several persons . . . in great distress'.

Suddenly she thought these persons were all gone, and that she was left alone: that she went up to the coffin, and while she gazed upon it, she heard a voice speak, as if from within, but saw nobody. The man she had before seen, soon after stood by the coffin, and lifting the pall, she saw beneath it a dead person, whom she thought to be the dying Chevalier she had seen in her former dream: his features were sunk in death, but they were yet serene. While she looked at him, a stream of blood gushed

¹ Vide James R. Foster, 'The Abbé Prévost and the English Novel', *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 462.

² Ann Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest*, 7th ed., London, 1806, I, 134-5.

from his side, and descending to the floor, the whole chamber was overflowed; at the same time some words were uttered in the voice she heard before; but the horror of the scene so entirely overcame her, that she started and awoke.¹

On the following night, while the wind whistles about her, Adeline explores a hidden suite of apartments into which she descends by a secret staircase off her bedchamber. In what is perhaps the most famous scene in the novel, her faltering steps carry her to a chamber 'exactly like that where the dream had represented the dying person' and his bier. Here she discovers 'an old dagger. spotted and stained with rust', and a 'roll of paper tied with a string and covered with dust'. In this manuscript she reads the sufferings of the unfortunate man who later proves to be her own father.²

The setting of Ducray's story, which anticipates Mrs Radcliffe's by two years, is the wild and bandit-infested forest of Chamboran in south-eastern France. Here, in a kind of fortified hermitage, dwell the innocent Clairette, her supposed father, Candor, and an aged retainer named Germain. Candor is a mysterious recluse who is doing penance for an old and secret crime. Through the perfidy of a false friend named Duverly, who was also the seducer of his wife and the real father of Clairette, Candor was formerly betrayed into putting to the sword his wife and his own son, who he was led to believe was Duverly's. The grisly scenes which disturb the slumbers of Adeline in the *Romance of the Forest* are actually witnessed by Clairette and her lover, Alexis, who has found shelter in the cottage. In a subterranean vault beneath the cottage Candor has concealed the bodies of Clairette's unfortunate mother and half-brother, and the grim mysteries of the story, like those of the *Romance of the Forest*, hinge on the identity of the secret victims. On one occasion Alexis takes refuge from a storm, in a cavern in the forest.

Il y avait déjà plus d'une heure qu'il y était lorsqu'il crut entendre du bruit dans le fond du souterrain; il écoute, on l'appelle; il connaît cette voix: ce n'est point un songe; une lumière faible et éloignée brille même à ses regards. . . . Alexis, croyant voir des spectres, avait tremblé. . . il suivait maintenant un homme! . . .

Au bout de la caverne, le guide ouvrit une porte, et disparut. Alexis, conduit par la clarté qu'il aperçut à travers cette porte, continua toujours sa route. . . . Alexis se trouva enfin dans un superbe temple, dont la porte se ferma derrière lui. Le pavé et les colonnes de marbre noir soutenaient un plafond d'où tombait une lampe funèbre. Sur un massif entouré de marches, était un tombeau. . . .³

This is the underground sepulchre containing the evidence of Candor's crime. Here Alexis is joined suddenly by the inhabitants of the cottage (the source of the terrifying phenomena he has just witnessed), and

¹ Ann Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest*, 7th ed., London, 1806, I, 271-4.

² *Ibid.*, II, 11 ff.

³ François-Guillaume Ducray-Duminil, *Alexis, ou la Maisonnnette dans les bois*, 8ème ed., Paris, 1816, II, 48-51.

Candor, after unfolding to the horrified lovers the story of his crime, produces the fatal weapon 'encore teint du sang', and throwing open the coffin 'offrit à leurs yeux deux momies embaumées et percées de coups'.¹

Alexis flees the cottage, and on the following night—in a scene which affords the most striking parallel to Adeline's adventures—Clairette descends the staircase into the *sou terrain*, in order to follow her lover into the forest. Like Adeline, she becomes half-paralysed by fear—'saisie d'effroi et d'épouvante'. 'En effet,' exclaims Ducray, 'quels dangers n'avait-elle pas à appréhender dans une caverne inconnue, sombre, et qui formait mille sinuosités!' As with Adeline, her terrors reach their zenith at the moment when she turns back to obtain a light.

Mais tout à coup le lieu, le silence, l'horreur des morts, mille spectres effrayants vinrent frapper son imagination exaltée. Elle s'arrêta, s'agenouilla sur les marches du monument, et crut entendre une voix sépulcrale briser la voûte du marbre qui couvrait le cercueil. . . 'O ma mère! s'écria-t-elle, est-ce vous que j'entends? . . . sont-ce vos accens douloureux? ô ma malheureuse mère! . . .'

Clairette ne respirait plus; son cœur glacé n'avait plus de mouvement. . . Une épée teinte de sang, un rouleau de papier, frappent sa vue. . . C'est le fer meurtrier qui a tranché les jours d'Adèle. . . et ces papiers? . . . Adieu, mon cher Duverly, venez au plutôt rejoindre votre Adèle. . . Ce sont les lettres d'une trop coupable mère. . . c'est la preuve de son infidélité. . . Dieu! quel dépôt précieux et funeste!²

The resemblance between these episodes in *Alexis* and the *Romance of the Forest* is so close as to suggest that Mrs Radcliffe's imagination owed Ducray a very considerable debt in the invention of these scenes. It is true that tenebrous backgrounds of caverns and sepulchres for tales of crime, mystery, and terror had been the common coin of sentimental adventure stories since the time of Prévost. But the scenes described above possess a degree of similarity in both outline and detail which can hardly be satisfactorily explained as the result of two novelists writing independently in the same tradition: the subterranean vault in the heart of the gloomy forest; the journey through the dark passageway, with the flickering lights and the mysterious guide; the black chamber at the foot of the staircase, with the funereal *décor*—the torches, the coffin covered with a pall, the body of the heroine's parent, still showing the fatal wounds; and then the voice from the tomb, the blood-stained sword, and the roll of papers, recounting in the victim's own hand the story of crime and suffering. In the light of these compelling similarities it is hard to deny Ducray-Duminil a place among the novelists who aided in the creation of Ann Radcliffe's phantasy of terror. Indeed we may surmise whether the title of her novel may not itself be a significant echo of

¹ François-Guillaume Ducray-Duminil, *Alexis, ou la Maisonnette dans les bois*, 8ème éd., Paris, 1816, II, 140 ff.

² *Ibid.*, III, 7-9.

Ducray's.¹ *Alexis, ou la Maissonnette dans les bois*, in name as well as substance, may have suggested to the English novelist the romantic possibilities of a forest setting, with its banditti, dreadful storms, and gloomy isolation.

Ducray's early romances have received scant attention from writers on the *roman noir*. After dwelling on the importance of Prévost, d'Arnaud, and Mme de Genlis in the native tradition of terror, commentators have tended to pass directly to the influence of Mrs Radcliffe's writings in translation, and, if they mention Ducray at all, to deal only with his later works and to give priority to her influence, which begins with the publication of her work in French in 1797.²

Ducray's first novel, *Lolotte et Fanfan, ou les Aventures de deux enfants abandonnés dans une île déserte* (1788), is a sentimental fiction of the Prévost breed—compounded of English characters, and a hero, like Patrice and Cleveland, born to unhappiness; scenes in London, Ireland, and America; marvellous adventures and coincidences; and suffering and mystery. In its machinery of terror the story merely copies its predecessors. The plot employs five caverns, grottos, or subterranean cellars of one kind or another. One of these, in the tropical wilderness, contains the putrescent cadaver of a mysterious Englishman; another is the setting for an incredible recognition scene. But in no case are the tenebrous possibilities of these settings fully explored, nor do they receive more than a cursory treatment.

Ducray's second novel, however, marks a great advance over his first both in the number and elaborateness of its scenes of terror. *Alexis* is a genuine *roman noir*, employing narrative methods which anticipate in many respects those of Mrs Radcliffe. Ducray's efforts to arouse suspense, no doubt, are quite crude; the episodes in the underground sepulchre are affected and sentimental to a degree; and his machinery of terror is merely the stock in trade of Prévost and d'Arnaud. Although the dangers of Chamboran Forest are evidently of his own contriving, his *souterrain* is the lineal descendant of Rumney Hole, and his funereal adjuncts find models in such works as *Le Doyen* and d'Arnaud's *Comminge* and *Makin*. In spite of these facts, however, *Alexis* is notable for the extent of its preoccupation with the appeal to fear and the ingenuity with which the author has elaborated and combined the conventions which he appro-

¹ The *Romance of the Forest* is the first of at least twenty romances in English to bear 'wood' or 'forest' titles. *Alexis* employs such suggestive chapter headings as 'La Nuit de la forêt' and 'La Voix de la forêt'.

² Vide A. M. Killen, *Le Roman 'terrifiant' ou roman 'noir' de Walpole à Anne Radcliffe*, Paris, 1915, pp. 129 ff.; Harold Wade Streeter, *The Eighteenth Century English Novel in French Translation*, New York, 1936, pp. 120-1.

priated. There are more horrors in the Gothic vein in *Alexis* than in any single work of his predecessors in France. It includes no less than five sustained scenes of terror in and about the cavern in the forest. However ineptly conceived when measured against the delicate artistry of the 'Shakespeare of Romance', these scenes nevertheless reveal a writer who was keenly alive to the possibilities of arousing and sustaining feelings of suspense, dread, and mystery by means of gloomy backgrounds, atmospheric detail, and suggestions of the supernatural.

Not everything in *Alexis* is Radcliffean. During much of the story the separated lovers travel about the country, becoming entangled in misunderstandings, misfortunes, and intrigues which are sometimes almost picaresque in spirit. But in those episodes in which Ducray has involved his hero and heroine in terrifying adventures against a romantic background of French forest scenery, he achieves something closer to the Gothic formula of Charlotte Smith and Ann Radcliffe than any of his forerunners in France had yet obtained. For this reason *Alexis* represents an important stage in the development of the *roman noir* previous to 1797; and if actually read by Mrs Radcliffe, it affords an additional link between the French and English traditions of terror, and deserves mention in the history of Gothic romance.

Both *Lolotte et Fanfan* and *Alexis* were extremely popular, a fact which should not be forgotten in measuring Ducray's influence. The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale lists seven editions of the former, and nineteen of *Alexis*¹—only two less than the twenty-one of *Céline*, which, we are told, was enormously popular and during the course of its history must have sold 1,200,000 copies.² *Alexis* was translated into English, German, and Spanish. The first English edition seems to have been the translation which appeared in the *Lady's Magazine* in thirty-one instalments from March 1791 to July 1793, and which was reprinted in Boston as the 'First American Edition' in 1796.³ It is unnecessary, however, to find an earlier English translation for a writer of Mrs Radcliffe's accomplishments, and for one who was evidently acquainted with the French of Ramond de Carbonnière and Dupaty.

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¹ There were others besides these. The 1816 edition of *Alexis* calls itself the eighth, though the Bibliothèque Nationale lists only three previous to it.

² Vide Philibert Audebrand, *Romanciers et viveurs du XIXe siècle*, Paris, Colmann-Levy, 1904, p. 8.

³ *Alexis: or, The cottage in the woods. A novel, from the French. The manuscript found on the banks of the Isere.* The first American edition. Ornamented with handsome copper-plates. Boston: From the press of Alexander Martin... October, 1796.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF WORDSWORTH'S 'ODE ON THE INTIMATIONS.
OF IMMORTALITY' TO RUSKIN'S THEORY OF THE INFINITE IN ART

Both from its religious connotation and its association with the aspect of nature which most fascinated him, her detail and her plenitude, the concept of infinity possessed for Ruskin a certain a priori authority. He was constantly formulating ingenious analyses of its function in art, and ultimately succeeded, as a matter of fact, in basing all beauty upon the principle of infinity. Beauty of form, he pointed out, depends upon curves, whose beauty results from the fact that they divide themselves infinitely by their changes of direction, while all beauty of shade and colour depends on gradation, which is also a form of infinity.¹

But Ruskin has a less scientific, more Platonic theory of infinity in art. He notices that among artists there is a certain fondness for light in distance effects. This fondness he interprets as showing a universal need for infinity, infinity being an answer to humanity's longing for escape from the earthly life and a promise of the heavenly one. In accordance with this idea, light, especially distant light, is the most expressive symbol of infinity.

While it would be difficult to prove that this theory resulted from any particular literary influence, the evidence is fairly strong that, as Ruskin wrote out the theory in the second volume of *Modern Painters*, he had continually in mind one poem, Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*. Ruskin had just been discussing the need for a return to the simplicity of childhood, and had refuted Alison's statement that his own appreciation of nature first came from associations of nature with classical literature, by presenting the Wordsworthian view that every child is born with a marked susceptibility to the beauty of nature. All look back, wrote Ruskin:

... to their youngest and least-learned days as those of the most intense, superstitious, insatiable, and beatific perception of her splendours. And the bitter decline of this glorious feeling, though many note it not, partly owing to the cares and weight of manhood... yet has formed the subject, not indeed of lamentation, but of holy thankfulness for the witness it bears to the immortal origin and end of our nature, to one whose authority is almost without appeal in all questions relating to the influence of external things upon the pure human soul.

Heaven lies about us in our infancy.
Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing boy:
But he beholds the light, and whence it flows,
He sees it in his joy.

¹ *The Works of John Ruskin*, edited by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, G. Allen, London, Longmans, Green, New York, 1903-12, iv, 88-9.

The youth, who daily farther from the east
Must travel, still is nature's priest,
And by the vision splendid
Is on his way attended.
At length the man perceives it die away
And fade into the light of common day.¹

With the poetic thought of these lines from Wordsworth's ode in his mind, Ruskin constructed his exceedingly poetical explanation of the connexion of distant light, infinity, and man's intimations of and hopes for immortality. Most interesting of the links between Wordsworth's poem and Ruskin's theory is the presence in both to an unusual degree of the image of light. Consider the opening lines of the ode:

There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream,
The earth, and every common sight,
To me did seem
Apparell'd in celestial light,
The glory and the freshness of a dream.

In the ninth stanza Wordsworth writes that the shadowy recollections of childhood

Are yet the fountain-light of all our day,
Are yet a master light of all our seeing.

These are merely typical of a tendency pervading the entire poem.² Accompanying this association of images of light with the ideas of infinity and immortality comes a host of delicate images connected with light. The poem is filled with the animation and joy of spring and dawn, and this joyful mood, the images of morning, the cataracts that 'blow their trumpets from the steep', the glitter, the play of shadows, and, above all, the sunrise and sunset are all transported bodily into the prose poetry in which Ruskin states his theory:

Whatever beauty there may result from effects of light on foreground objects,—from the dew of the grass, the flash of the cascade, the glitter of the birch trunk, or the fair daylight hues of darker things (and joyfulness there is in all of them), there is yet a light which the eye invariably seeks with a deeper feeling of the beautiful,—the light of the declining or breaking day, and the flakes of scarlet cloud burning like watch-fires in the green sky of the horizon; a deeper feeling, I say, not perhaps more acute, but having more of spiritual hope and longing, less of animal and present life....³

This distant light has not more beauty,

But there is one thing that it has, or suggests, which no other object of sight suggests in equal degree, and that is—Infinity. It is of all visible things the least material, the

¹ *rv*, 77–8. The reference is of course to Wordsworth and the quotation from the *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*.

² See *Four Studies in Wordsworth*, by Marion Meade, George Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wisc., 1929. Miss Meade finds light and its complement, shade, the real pre-occupations of Wordsworth's mind in mountains as elsewhere: pp. 93 ff.

³ *Works*, *rv*, 79–80.

least finite, the farthest withdrawn from the earth prison-house ['Shades of the prison-house begin to close'], the most typical of the nature of God, the most suggestive of the glory of His dwelling-place.¹

In sunrise and sunset sky, Ruskin finds, more than in any other place, this exalted sense of infinity; and if ever a poem was written with the poet's eye fixed upon the fading, glowing, tremulous beauty of the radiant upper clouds of morning and evening sky, it is this *Intimations Ode* of Wordsworth. Images of such skies are deeply and remotely interfused with all the magic of the subconscious into these lofty feelings and thoughts. Observe how the image of light moving softly over the upper cloud regions is reflected in the following fragments:

Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?
But trailing clouds of glory do we come.
At length the Man perceives it die away
And fade into the light of common day.
Fallings from us, vanishings....
There hath pass'd away a glory....

Not the least important theme of this poem is the glory of the sky, of light in the sky, and as such it is a poem on the most absorbing of all aspects of nature to both Ruskin and Turner. Ruskin's association of the concept of infinity with distant light, on the high clouds and remote stretches of land, apparently strengthened as he thought of Wordsworth's poem, may well reveal something of the process of the poet's mind as he composed his great ode.

Neither Ruskin nor Wordsworth maintained this strain of Platonism for any extended period.² In both men it is a rather isolated mood, and for this reason it serves as an admirable illustration of how much the images and emotions of Wordsworth's poetry contributed to the poetic prose in which Ruskin embodied his aesthetic theories.

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A REPLY TO MR THOMAS ON 'POLYEUCTE'

In his note on *Polyeucte* in the number for April 1940, Mr Heywood Thomas draws attention to a field of research well suited to wartime conditions, in which access to foreign libraries is not available. I should

¹ *Works*, iv, 81.

² Ruskin later opposed the philosophy of the ode. In the third volume of *Modern Painters* he wrote: 'I think that what Wordsworth speaks of as a glory in the child, because it has come fresh from God's hands, is in reality nothing more than the freshness of all things to its newly-opened sight': *Works*, v, 369.

like to carry the discussion a stage further, because I think his interesting suggestion about the character of Pauline raises the whole question of the right interpretation of the play. He may be right in claiming (against Lanson's view) that Pauline does not love Polyeucte until she has to exert herself to save his life: Pauline, 'by dint of acting constantly in the capacity of a devoted wife, ends by being indeed the devoted wife'. This may be so. But on what evidence can we decide such a question as why Pauline's love passes from Sévère to Polyeucte? The only evidence is the play itself, the evidence of character and incident as Corneille has chosen to reveal them. If and where Corneille does not reveal motive it is dangerous to conclude it, except in line with his general presentation of the dramatic problem.

As to what Corneille has actually presented in the play, I should probably differ more or less completely from Mr Thomas, and adopt the interpretation of Professor Tanqueray in a recent series of lectures, which is in substance shared by M. Vedel in his brilliant book. I read the greater plays of Corneille, not as eulogia of supermen who 'overcome the greatest obstacles a man can possibly meet in this life', but as remorseless studies of supermen in tragic situations, i.e., in situations that attack and neutralize their best qualities. It is not therefore Corneille's admiration for his heroes that strikes me, but rather the opposite, his objective and impartial treatment. In *Polyeucte* I see a profound study of religious fanaticism, in which nothing tells me whether the author sides with or against the fanatic. The central situation of the play is twice illumined in detail (in II. 6 and in IV. 3) and is clearly that of a man whose religious zeal despises the world, to the extent of regarding the wife he loves as an 'obstacle'. He is opposed on the stage by a series of people who have an acute sense of social reality: by his wife, whose happiness and peace of mind depend on him, by the best conventional society type in Sévère and by the governor, Felix, who depends entirely on a political situation. Between these four people the whole issue of social obligation is thrashed out.

Absolute religious conviction is a scandal to those enmeshed in the world; it scorns all other allegiance as compromise:

Vous préférez le monde à la bonté divine...
Je ne vous connais plus si vous n'êtes chrétienne.

Such an attitude, as Pauline says, and as most of Corneille's public would agree, is just a sign of 'étrange aveuglement'. Yet it is overbearing, compelling, attractive by its very intransigence. Is it so unlikely that in such circumstances, it would win? Mr Thomas considers the conversion

of Pauline 'a rather childish intrusion of Corneille's own optimistic prejudices', in order that all should admit the excellence of Christianity. What then would have been the 'natural' end of that tense conflict? That the world should exterminate the martyr, and continue on its way undisturbed? But is it not true that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church? Did not Christianity conquer society by just such intransigence and fanatical bravery as Polyeucte shows? Corneille is not being uplifting, but realistic. Having recognized the social impossibility of the fanatic, he shows, just as faithfully, the power exercised on society by those who despise all ordinary social obligation.

How does Pauline fit into this brilliant picture of conflicting loyalties? Lanson says, as a woman who transfers her affection from Sévère to Polyeucte when she realizes the latter to be morally superior. Mr Thomas maintains to the contrary that this view is too narrow, that the reflex effect to fight for her husband's life makes Pauline really love him. 'But would a close observer of the play think first of either of these interpretations? Has Corneille made it plain, has he wished to make it plain, why the transfer of affection takes place? Does his play show more than a woman who loves, partly by duty, and with some affection still for a former lover?

Je l'aimerois encor quand il m'auroit trahie;
Et si de tant d'amour tu peux être ébahie,
Apprends que mon devoir ne dépend point du sien:
Qu'il y manque s'il veut; je dois faire le mien....
Je chéris sa personne, et je hais son erreur.

These beautiful lines certainly show more than love by obligation, or love as behaviourist reflex. The search for motive may lead us to miss the paramount dramatic impression of a married love that is just more present and more real than the romanesque affair with the noble Sévère ever was. As Professor Tanqueray writes: 'Corneille n'a jamais montré plus clairement ni de façon plus frappante combien la réalité est plus noble et plus puissante que tout ce qui n'est pas fondé sur elle, et comme elle dissipe aisément le romanesque même le plus poétique et le plus touchant.'

W. G. MOORE.

A PSEUDONYMICAL PROSE WORK OF LECONTE DE LISLE:
 'HISTOIRE DU MOYEN ÂGE', PAR 'PIERRE GOSSET'¹

The authenticity of this history as a work of Leconte de Lisle is accepted by Georges Vicaire and by Lanson in their respective bibliographies, and is denied by Fernand Calmettes.² Apart from its rejection by Calmettes I find no reference to it in any study or article concerning Leconte de Lisle. Since, however, this *Histoire du Moyen Âge* would, if authentic, be by far the most extensive of the prose works of Leconte de Lisle, it is important that the matter should be cleared up as far as possible.

'L'*Histoire du Moyen Âge*', says Calmettes, 'à laquelle il [Jean Marra-, a friend of the poet] devait seulement collaborer à parts égales, et dont l'entière responsabilité fut attribuée si bruyamment à Leconte de Lisle, est son œuvre [i.e., the work of Marras] à quelques dix pages près.' It must be remembered that Calmettes, a mediocrity tolerated at the 'samedis' of Leconte de Lisle only as a bosom crony of Anatole France, seizes every opportunity of detracting from the work of his frigid host.³ Maurice Souriau refers to the 'erreurs massives' of Calmettes; indeed, his authority is always suspect.⁴ Yet even Calmettes does not deny the collaboration of Leconte de Lisle in the *Histoire du Moyen Âge*; he seeks simply to minimize it. He reveals, on the other hand, that the work was attributed commonly to Leconte de Lisle after its appearance. The attribution of the volume to Leconte de Lisle by both Vicaire and Lanson counterbalances the negations of Calmettes.

Other external testimony is not lacking and possesses cumulative force. A compte-rendu which appeared in the *Revue Historique*⁵ in 1876 does not fail to underline that 'Pierre Gosset' is a pseudonym and to mention

¹ Paris, Lemerre, 1876, in-12, 386 pp. (*Journ. de la Libr.*, 3 juin). Reprinted 1882. Very rare, though used still as a text in certain schools.

² *Leconte de Lisle de ses amis*, Paris, Libr.-Impr.-Reunies, 1902, p. 149.

³ Souriau (*Hist. du Parnasse*, p. xxvii) suggests that 'Leconte de Lisle et ses amis, par un ennemi' would be a fit title for the biography. He regrets the 'esprit de dénigrement' which animates Calmettes.

⁴ Souriau, loc. cit.: 'Il a pour les dates une indifférence gênante... quand par hasard il en fournit une, elle est fautive.' Cf. Barrès (*Rev. Bleue*, 12 juillet 1902, p. 38). 'Volume... bien fâcheux par sa complaisance à recueillir des anecdotes salissantes. Peyre (*Louis Ménard*, p. 49) agrees: 'Livre où abondent en effet les détails curieux, mais dont il est prudent aussi de vérifier les assertions.' Cf. passim, M.-A. Leblond, *Leconte de Lisle*.

⁵ Tome 2 (juillet-décembre), p. 569; compte-rendu by G. Monod. 'Quant à l'*Histoire du Moyen Âge*, par M. Pierre Gosset, nous ne pouvons en dire qu'une chose: c'est que l'auteur, dont le nom du reste nous était jusqu'à ce jour entièrement inconnu, est peu au courant de la science historique contemporaine... et que, malgré un certain talent de style, la multiplicité des événements entassés dans ce petit volume en rend la lecture très difficile. Pour la rendre un peu plus ingrate l'auteur a cru devoir, par un procédé analogue à celui de M. Leconte de Lisle pour les noms grecs, écrire tous les noms franks avec une orthographe soi-disant germanique....'

with obvious intent the name of Leconte de Lisle. M. Albert Bayet, who while at the École Normale Supérieure wrote a mémoire on the philosophy of Leconte de Lisle, assures me that on one occasion he heard Alphonse Lemerre himself affirm openly the authenticity of the *Histoire du Moyen Âge* as a work of Leconte de Lisle. Another interesting point: Catulle Mendès, the treacherous historian of the Parnasse, attributes to the same Marras another prose work of Leconte de Lisle, the *Histoire Populaire du Christianisme*;¹ but the letters of Leconte de Lisle to Marras refute this imputation decisively. 'Outre le *Catéchisme*',² he says to his exiled friend, 'j'ai aussi publié une petite *Histoire de la Révolution*,³ et j'ai sous presse une *Histoire Populaire du Christianisme*. . Si cela peut vous intéresser, je vous expédierai le tout.'⁴ It seems, moreover, that the intimacy between Leconte de Lisle and Marras began to wane after 1871; certainly the political differences between the two had become so sharp by 1876 that Leconte de Lisle would hardly have invited his friend to collaborate with him in writing any historical work. Again, in a letter to Émilie de Longeville, discussing school texts, the poet says, in passing: 'J'en ai d'ailleurs beaucoup, dans le format de l'*Histoire du Moyen Âge*.'⁵ Between 1861 (*Les Deux Glaves*) and 1876 Leconte de Lisle did not publish a single poem on a historical subject; in 1876, curiously, just after the appearance of the *Histoire du Moyen Âge*, *Cozza et Borgha* and *Hiéronymus* were published. The former poem constituted a fragment of the *États du Diable*, the latter a part of the *Épopée du Moine*. The preparation of these two satirical epics involved obviously a painstaking documentation in mediaeval lay and ecclesiastical history. It is perhaps not too much to assume that Lemerre invited Leconte de Lisle to turn this reading to material profit by writing one of the series of historical texts which the expanding library in the Passage Choiseul was editing at that moment. It is significant that after publishing three brochures in 1871, a translation of Aeschylus and the definitive edition of the *Poèmes Barbares* in 1872 and a translation of Horace in 1873 (in which year the tragedy *Les Erinnyes* was performed), Leconte de Lisle lets four years pass before producing another work: the translation of Sophocles (1877). His letters to Hérédia show what were his occupations during those four years; in 1874 he writes:

¹ Lemerre, 1871, in-12, 140 pp.; cf. Elsenberg, *Le Sentiment religieux chez Leconte de Lisle*, 1909, p. 219.

² *Catéchisme Populaire Républicain*, Lemerre, 1871, 32 pp.

³ Lemerre, 1871, 60 pp.

⁴ Letters published by Barthou, R.D.M., 15 Nov. 1933.

⁵ Bibl. Nat. MSS., N. A. Fr., 12618, 30 Nov. 1885.

Je travaille beaucoup à une anthologie grecque qui me fatigue et m'abêtit. La première partie du *Moune* est faite... Il m'est à peu près impossible de m'occuper à la fois des ennuis misérables de chaque jour et des intérêts politiques et religieux du treizième siècle.¹

If the external evidence is weighty, the internal evidence can be regarded as entirely conclusive. First, as Monod remarks, the author uses the somewhat arbitrary Germanic orthography peculiar to Leconte de Lisle and to Augustin Thierry, from whom the poet borrowed it. Secondly, whole pages and countless paragraphs of the *Histoire du Christianisme* are incorporated without alteration in the later work.² The style nevertheless remains perfectly homogeneous: one can only conclude that the author of the one work is the author of the other. The prose style of Leconte de Lisle, with its accumulations of violence, of horror, of vivid detail, of picturesque anecdote, with its brutal conciseness and its desperate irony, is not difficult to recognize, and it is found here with all its qualities and all its defects. Thirdly, the sources quoted in the *Histoire du Moyen Âge* reinforce the argument. They include Scott, Chateaubriand, Montesquieu (all of whom Leconte de Lisle admired greatly) and writers as far apart as Claudian, Raoul Glaber, Mérimée, Louis Viardot (all of whom have provided sources for Leconte de Lisle's poems), Joinville, Froissart, Dante, Petrarch and a host of chroniclers of all kinds.

Lastly, the opinions expressed in the *Histoire du Moyen Âge* are not only proper but in many cases peculiar to Leconte de Lisle. Under a pretence of objectivity flows a clear moral purpose, which, if it detracts from the value of the work as history, reveals many of the social and political ideas of the author and even much of his personality. If the picture of mediaevalism is black and revolting, through its gloom shames the light of the great social and religious reformers, the flame of popular revolt against unendurable tyrannies, or, more rarely, the radiance of some solitary artistic genius. The intention of the work is fiercely republican: we find here a hatred of the double tyranny of an oppressive monarchy and a crude and cruel monotheistic cult, a hatred identical with that which overflows in the *Poèmes Tragiques* and the *Poèmes Barbares*. This animosity is accompanied by the regret for the vanished civilization of ancient Greece which is the chief inspiration of the *Poèmes Antiques*.

¹ 24 Sept. 1874; Ibrovac, *Heredia*, pp. 137-8.

² Cf. the following pages of the two books (the *Histoire du Christianisme* mentioned first in each case): 59-61 and 81-2; 68-9 and 101-2; 78 and 141; 83 and 154; 85 and 159; 91 and 173; 104 and 238; 106 and 248; 108 and 262; 112 and 297; 113 and 300; 115 and 328; 116 and 336; also 43-5 and 27, 54-5 and 65-6; 63 and 89, 74 and 115; 86 and 168, 89 and 171; 92-4 and 188-93; 95-6 and 199-203; 98 and 212; etc.

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L'*Histoire du Moyen Âge* s'ouvre en réalité par la victoire du christianisme... elle finit à la renaissance intellectuelle de l'Occident.. Constantin fut le vrai destructeur du monde romain... en proclamant la nouvelle loi religieuse, il tua la civilisation antique.. Douze siècles suivirent, pleins de vastes mouvements de peuples, de choes de races, de sanglantes querelles religieuses, de supplices, de pestes, de famines, mais aussi de grands et nobles efforts intellectuels, politiques et sociaux... Le monde antique s'écroulait, et le christianisme, chaque jour plus puissant, hâtait sa ruine...

As in the poems, the vigorous, free and splendid life of primitive races is opposed to the vicious lethargy, the hypocrisy and the barbarism of the populations of Christian mediaeval Europe.

Les dieux de cette mythologie [of the Germani], *considérés comme régulateurs de l'univers, non comme créateurs*, ne furent d'abord que des personnifications de la nature. Dépouillés peu à peu de leur pureté originelle, ils envahirent le monde moral. ... Les Germains n'élevaient point de temples, et les prêtres, s'il en existait, ne formaient ni un corps sacerdotal, ni une classe privilégiée. Les cérémonies du culte se célébraient dans les bois sacrés. Pour connaître les volontés divines, on interrogeait le vol des oiseaux, le bruit harmonieux des eaux, le hennissement des chevaux blancs consacrés et les combinaisons mystérieuses des Runes...

The importance of the *Histoire du Moyen Âge* is twofold. It is the most extensive prose work of Leconte de Lisle, and it gives in more detail than any other work his views on history and politics; if its true historical merit is slight, its revelation of the poet's own convictions and feelings is of great interest. But above all the volume throws light on the numerous and rather neglected mediaeval poems of Leconte de Lisle which form such a large section of his work. Many probable sources of these poems will be found mentioned in the *Histoire du Moyen Âge*. From his prose version of the same incidents it will be possible also to analyse with more exactitude the processes by which the historical poems are constructed, the extent to which facts are altered to suit a poetic purpose. The whole question of the 'objectivity' of Leconte de Lisle's historical poems may be reviewed in the light of this work. The poems affected are numerous; in addition to almost all of the strictly historical poems they include *Hypatie*, *Hypatie et Cyrille*, *les Siècles maudits*, *les Raisons du Saint Père*, and others. It is to be hoped therefore that the *Histoire du Moyen Âge* will be read for its own sake and especially that future researchers on Leconte de Lisle will use it for purposes of documentation and comparison. It has been neglected long enough.

F. JONES.

REVIEWS

The Place-Names of West Lothian. By ANGUS MACDONALD. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd. 1941. xl+179 pp. 15s.

Following the familiar pattern of the English Place-name Society, Dr. Angus Macdonald has produced the first comprehensive methodical study of the place-names of a Scottish county. He is to be congratulated on an eminently successful achievement in a difficult field of research and his book deserves a place on the book-shelves of all students of place-names. The chequered history of the lowland county of West Lothian is difficult to follow closely in the scanty annals of the early chroniclers. From one period to another it has been the territory of the northern Welsh, Scots, Picts, Anglians, Anglo-Normans and English, and a sprinkling of Scandinavians. The resultant mixed culture of the county is plainly reflected in the linguistic variety of its place-names. A number of purely Welsh place-names like Abercorn have survived, whilst Kinneil (a Gaelicized form of Welsh *Pengwaul*) and other hybrids show Gaelic influence. Gaelic names like Bonhard, Bangour and Craigen-gall abound, and Gaelic-English hybrids like Cathlaw and Craigend again point to the admixture of races. The early English names such as Livingston and Duddingston occur in the east of the county. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries typical Middle English place-names of the *-tun* type with personal names of Norman, Scandinavian and English origin in the first element predominate. There are at most six Scandinavian place-names (e.g. Humbie and Wrae) and the French element is even slighter. In an instructive introduction Dr Macdonald assembles the conclusions he deduces from the place-name material to illumine much that is dark in the historical background of the county. The cumulative evidence is always as important as the significance of individual place-names. The paucity of early material added to the difficult task of interpreting such a complex nomenclature but the author has made full use of the available sources and moreover he shows a wide knowledge of the topography of the county. A section on field and minor names, two useful maps, and complete indexes to elements, personal names and place-names add further to the value of the book.

I should like to make a few observations which might be helpful. The oldest stratum of names in West Lothian is Celtic, dating from the period when this part of Scotland was inhabited by the Welsh. Lothian itself is a Welsh name. Dr Macdonald fights shy of it and dismisses it with summary references to the opinions of others. An old Welsh form of Lothian is fortunately preserved in the work of the twelfth-century poet 'Gwalchmai who refers to *lleudinyawn dreuyt* 'the towns of Lleuddiniawn'. It is possible that the district took its name from Lleuddun Llyuddawg 'of Dinas Eidyn in the north', a sixth-century personage of whom there

are historical traditions in mediaeval literature. If Lleuddun was an historical personage, *lleudinyawn* means 'the territory of Lleuddun'. The suffix *-iawn* (*-ion*) was often used thus in names of districts; cf. Ceredigion; Aflogyon, Edeyrnion and Osmehaun which were named after *Ceretic*, *Osmarl*, *Abloyc* and *Etern*, sons of Cunedda. In his learned *Canu Aneurin* Professor Ifor Williams inclines to the belief that *Lleuddin* might be the old name of a conspicuous hill like the rock of Edinburgh and compares it with *Dinlleu* in Caernarvonshire and *Lugudunum* on the Continent (Loans, Lyons, Leyden). The old interpretation of the latter was 'mons lucidus'. Could the suffix *-iawn* be added to the place-name *Lleuddin* to denote the surrounding country? Whatever the etymology, Lothian is certainly a reduced form of the Welsh *Lleuddiniawn*. One feels rather less doubtful than Dr Macdonald about Carriden at the eastern end of the Roman wall. The *Kaer Eden* of a *Capitula* prefixed to Gildas's *De Excidio* may well refer to Carriden. Admittedly the description of *Kaer Eden* as *civitas antiquissima* is hard to explain, but on the other hand the fact that it is stated to be about two miles from the monastery of Abercorn fits Carriden better than Edinburgh. It was from *Erdyn* or *Eyddyn*, a place or district near Edinburgh, that the sixth-century Welsh heroes of the *Gododdin* set out to do battle in Catraeth (see Ifor Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvi ff.). *Kaer Eden* (Carriden) and *Din Eidyn* (the Welsh name of Edinburgh) were probably two forts in the district of *Erd(d)yn*. Welsh *cardden* (p. 26) can mean 'enclosure' (see *Arch. Camb.*, 1937, p. 157). It is suggested that Carriber is British in origin, from *caer* and *abar* 'marsh', but *abar* 'marsh' is not found in Welsh. Abercorn can hardly contain Welsh *corniog* in view of the early forms in *-curnig*. Derivation from *cyrnig*, also meaning 'horned', might be a little less difficult. Dr Macdonald follows Watson in the derivation of Pardovan from Welsh *par-ddwfn* 'deep field'. Watson's interpretation of *Par-* names rests on the assumption that there existed a Welsh word *par* 'field', which he assumes from modern *parlas* 'a green plat'. That it is equally important to trace the history and meaning of the elements involved as the pedigree of the place-name itself should be an axiom with place-name students. *Parlas* in a topographical sense is given in a dictionary of 1753 and occurs once in Welsh literature in 1782. *Par* 'field' does not occur independently anywhere and until stronger evidence of its authenticity comes to light it should be branded with a few asterisks. The fact that neither *par* nor *glas* is included in the list of elements may reflect a doubt in Dr Macdonald's mind. In connexion with Barnbogle it may be noted that there is also a Welsh element *bar* found in place-names (see R. J. Thomas's *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru*, p. 23). One could wish for notes on the *-garde* and *-tarwyn* forms adduced for Inchgarvie and Duntarvie, and on the development of some other Gaelic and Welsh names such as Leuchold, Auldcathie, Niddry, and Ochiltree and Ogilface (both derived from Welsh *uchel*). The meaning of Bonyside 'seat at the bottom of a hill', from Gaelic *bonn*, *suidhe*, needs further elucidation. Gatemur, from

Gaelic *gart* and *mór* 'great', is hardly 'large field of standing corn'; the earlier meaning of *gart* was probably 'enclosure'. Hence 'large enclosure'. Cf. Welsh *garth* in this sense and Garthmor in Caernarvonshire. Dr Macdonald is sure of his step among the English place-names except when he stumbles over Crudderland(s) which is not 'harper's lands' from Welsh *crwth*, an old Welsh instrument of the viol type. It is rather 'fiddler's land', from English *crowder* 'fiddler', evidenced from about 1450; cf. *crowd*, Middle English *crouthe*, adopted from Welsh *crwth* (see *N.E.D.*). The unexplained Mountjoy is presumably descriptive of a pleasant hill, probably from French *mont joie*. The name is also found in Sussex and Pembrokeshire.

I must emphasize that the foregoing notes are in no way a criticism of the book as a whole.

B. G. CHARLES.

ABERYSTWYTH.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. Edited by SIR ISRAEL GOLLANCZ, with Introductory Essays by MABEL DAY and MARY S. SERJEANTSON. (Early English Text Society, No. 210.) London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1940. lxxii + 186 pp. 10s.

Sir Israel Gollancz was interested in the north-western group of alliterative poems throughout his life; he contributed a chapter on them to the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, and produced editions of *Pearl*, *Patience*, *Cleanness*, and *St Erkenwald*. It is therefore more than an act of piety on the part of Dr Mabel Day to complete and bring out her former chief's edition of *Sir Gawain*.

The Introduction is very full, and covers familiar ground in describing MS. Nero A. x, its contents, their connexion with the *Wars of Alexander*, the various theories about the identity of the author, and the origins of the story of Gawain. This compact and comprehensive study is followed by a minute survey of the dialect, by Dr Serjeantson, and by an extensive bibliography (though not all of the latter is utilized in the notes).

Inevitably the text provided invites comparison with that in the edition by Tolkien and Gordon (TG). On the whole, this version is more fully punctuated than TG, and, generally speaking, better punctuated. In the text itself, there are quite a number of differences; one might instance [zister]-n[eu]e (l. 60), *heme-wel haled* (l. 157), the parenthesis in l. 214, *so[h]ade* (l. 424), [inner]-more (l. 649), *py[n]ned* (l. 769), [l]ent (l. 971), *hi[t] riche[d]* (l. 2177), and *roche-grounde* (l. 2294). Judgment is given in favour of [*Fettled*] for the beginning of l. 2329, and for *rynez* rather than *ryuez* in l. 2290. On the whole, emendation has been bold—some clearly influenced by an article by Professor Brett in *M.L.R.* twenty years ago—and the alterations certainly make the text more understandable, which after all is an important function in an emendation.

There are almost forty pages of notes, of admirable variety. American material has been used more fully than in TG (where, for instance, in

the 1926 and 1930 editions the positions at high table were surely wrong, and might have been put right by reference to a note by O. F. Emerson). The variety may be illustrated by the notes on *capados* (l. 186), *laucen* (l. 526), the confusion of sing. and plur. in l. 1071 ff., *a balz berz* (l. 2172), and *Bertilak* (l. 2445). The glossary does not fall below the high standard of the rest of the work; and only two slight misprints have been noted.

Certainly this book deserves the high commendation of Professor R. W. Chambers, that its production 'constitutes one of the greatest services that could be done to Middle English Studies'.

ANGUS MACDONALD.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

The Living Chaucer. By P. V. D. SHELLY. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1940. vi+331. 18s. 6d.

The Living Chaucer was published in the last forty-eight hours of the year in which the six-hundredth anniversary of Chaucer's birth was celebrated. It is addressed to the general reader; it seeks to show that Chaucer can still be 'a joy and inspiration', and it deals (to the exclusion of boredom on the reader's part) with only those aspects of his work which interested the author. In his preface Professor Shelly pays tribute to the work of Chaucer scholars in the past twenty-five years and hopes that his book will be in harmony with the soundest of their conclusions.

But fundamentally (he says) it is based upon the reading of Chaucer rather than the reading of his commentators. One cannot hope, at this late day, to say anything new of a poet who has been a subject of comment and criticism for more than five hundred years. But one may reasonably hope to present a slightly different point of view, to say again some of the things which though said before may have been forgotten, and to bring within the compass of a single volume a great many things that should be known to the lover of poetry to-day about the work of one of the greatest of English poets and artists, albeit one of the oldest.

That is a modest statement of what the book achieves. It could be heartily recommended, with only one reservation, to anyone in search of a good introduction to Chaucer's poetry. The poems discussed at length are the *Book of the Duchess*, the *House of Fame*, *Troilus and Criseyde*, the *Legend of Good Women*, and the *Canterbury Tales*, this last with several tales omitted, including, surprisingly, the Pardoner's. Especially noteworthy are the discussions of the development of Chaucer's art (chap. III), his style (chap. X), his treatment of nature (chap. XI), and his alterations of his originals (passim).

Some of the 'slightly different' views which Professor Shelly advances, or old views which he re-states with admirable clarity, may be briefly indicated. The division of Chaucer's work into three periods labelled French, Italian, and English is highly misleading; the proposed alternative is a twofold division, 'Experimental Works' and 'The Masterpieces'. Chaucer launched his 'private Renaissance' in the *Book of the Duchess*

before he had visited Italy, or read Dante, Petrarch, or Boccaccio. His development as an artist consists essentially in making his work increasingly 'interesting' in the modern sense. The classical stories which he introduced so plentifully—of Dido and Aeneas, Pyramus and Thisbe, and so on—would have had a freshness for his contemporaries which they lack for us. He is not a satirist because he is not a reformer. He is more the Poet's Poet than Spenser; his 'Lucrece' has more to be said for it than Shakespeare's; his style, in the crowning achievement of simplicity, is unrivalled, and he is not lacking in high seriousness but in 'the chronic high seriousness' of Dante, Milton, and Wordsworth.

One of these claims, which is not a matter of opinion but of fact, calls for comment. Actually it is not safe to say that when Chaucer wrote the *Book of the Duchess* in 1369 he had not been in Italy and had no knowledge of Italian literature. Even that most cautious of Chaucerians, Professor F. N. Robinson, admits the possibility that the poet went to Milan in 1368, the year of Prince Lionel's marriage there to Violante Visconti. The same scholar approves the suggestion that Chaucer may have been sent to Genoa in 1372 (his first visit to Italy of which we have record) because he was already familiar with the language of the country. Here Professor Shelly is more eager to do Chaucer honour than our knowledge of his life warrants. Elsewhere the reverse appears to be true; and this draws attention to a regrettable state of affairs in Chaucer studies.

Early in his book Professor Shelly makes a statement of a kind which one would now be surprised not to find in a volume of aesthetic criticism of Chaucer. 'The output of modern Chaucerian scholars', he says, 'is for the most part buried in learned periodicals or in uninviting books intended only for specialists.' This must be admitted, and it goes far to excuse the aesthetic critic, as he implies that it should, for cultivating no more than a slight acquaintance with the work of specialists. But the unfortunate result is that he proceeds with the interpretation of his subject in less than the fullest light available. Hence he often accuses Chaucer of, or vainly labours to exonerate him from, supposed failures in artistry which the scholar could account for in more complimentary terms. Notable cases in point are the recurrent comments on the poet's symmetry-spoiling digressions, and on his dull allegorical figures. If he had written in the vacuum which exclusively aesthetic critics create for him, these phenomena might justifiably be ascribed to his lack of literary skill. But he was a court poet, writing for the most part to please court patrons, and enough is already known or plausibly surmised of the significance of his digressions and allegorical figures to show that, judged as they ought to be by his practical aim, they may be very far from unskilful or dull. To condemn him for them is rather as if we were to take Shakespeare severely to task for an occasional flat scene, such as the second in *Richard II*, in which he allows some of his dramatis personæ to do little more than mark time conversationally, his main purpose being to give

others a long enough interval off-stage in which to change their costumes. This cavil, however, is only intended to emphasize our need for a summary of recent Chaucer scholarship, along the lines of Professor Herford's summary of Shakespeare scholarship, or, if possible, of Sir Edmund Chambers's. Had such a study been extant (Professor Robinson laid an excellent foundation for it in his edition of 1933) Chaucer might have found in this book his 'adequate critic'. And if Professor Shelly falls a little short of that dizzy pinnacle, the fault is by no means entirely his.

MARGARET GALWAY.

LONDON.

Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies. Edited by RICHARD HUNT and RAYMOND KLIBANSKY. Volume I, number 1. London: The Warburg Institute. 1941. 149 pp. 15s.; subscription, £1. 1s. per annum

Both the editors and the Warburg Institute must be congratulated on the appearance of this new and extremely valuable periodical despite considerable difficulties. Attractively produced, the first number of *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* displays an impressive series of contributions, including several by scholars well known in the world of mediaeval studies. Mr R. W. Southern has an important paper on St Anselm and his English pupils, in which he throws new light on their contribution to scholastic learning. Of particular interest in it is the appendix on St Anselm's *De Incarnatione Verbi*, an 'intermediate version' of which composed before 1093 has been discovered by Mr Southern in a Hereford Cathedral MS., and is compared here with the two already known versions of this treatise.

C. H. Haskins's tentative identification of the *Mythographus Tertius Vaticanus* with Alberic of Montecassino was never very convincing. A comparison of Alberic's prose with that of the *Mythographus* shows such a difference in style as to exclude that they were the same person. Thanks to some quotations from the *Mythographus* in the still unpublished section of the Chronicle of Helinand of Froidmont, he has now been identified by Miss Eleanor Rathbone with an 'Alberic of London'. Whether on the other hand, as Miss Rathbone suggests, this Alberic was probably the canon of St Paul's, London, of that name who witnessed some charters about 1160, must remain very doubtful, since *Albericus* was not so very rare a name in twelfth-century England as she seems to think.¹ The English nationality of the *Mythographus*, a critical edition of whose work is one of the *desiderata* of scholarship, makes him a valuable addition to that mythological scholarship of mediaeval England which was to find its last expressions in the *Libellus de Imaginibus Deorum* by John of

¹ The name, *Albericus* (= Engl. *Aubrey*) occurs frequently in twelfth-century English and Norman chronicles and documents. A 'magister Albericus' witnessed a charter of Earl Walter Giffard before 1164 (*Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, ed. J. H. Round, London, 1899, I, p. 76).

Ridevall and Thomas Walsingham's *Archana Deorum*. Besides identifying the *Mythographus* with Alberic of Montecassino, Haskins was inclined to assign to Alberic a Latin poem in leonine verse, *Commendatio Domus Oceani*, which appears in one of the MSS. of Alberic's *Flores Rhetorici*, now MS. Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 14.784. Dr Hunt now shows that the *Commendatio* is not an independent poem as Haskins, Raby, and Francke, who first noticed it,¹ thought, but merely a section of the 4th book of the *Malchus* by Reginald of Canterbury.

Dom André Wilmart, whose recent death is a very sad blow to mediaeval studies, analyses the contents of an important collection of mediaeval Latin poems, now MS. Add. A. 44 of the Bodleian Library, and sometime the property of Thomas Bekynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells (d. 1465). At p. 42, n. 3 Dom Wilmart gives a note from f. 13r which shows that the MS. was given away as a present, or bequest, by Bekynton. As a similarly worded note appears in MS. New College 288, which was left by Bekynton to Wells Cathedral, it is possible that the MS. described by Dom Wilmart ended at Wells, a fact also hinted by its being in Somerset during the seventeenth century. But to reach certainty on this point it will be necessary to prove that the notes in Add. A. 44 and New College 288 were written by the same hand.

A short notice by Bale and a treatise on metre provided all that was known so far about John Serward or Serguard. Professor Galbraith has discovered some letters and poems by him as well as his will, and from these he draws an account of the literary activities of Serward and his circle, which throws some light on scholarly activities in London during the early fifteenth century. Despite some slight metrical and stylistic innovations in Latin verse, Serward and his friends still conform rigidly with mediaeval tradition, and anticipate none of the traits of humanism. Serward's letters, which are also printed here, are written in a pedestrian Latin; they are typical productions of the cultural environment against which humanism will react. Father Callus shows very learnedly that the *De Anima* ascribed to Grosseteste is not by him, and that it is based on the *Summa de Bono* by Philip the Chancellor. A short note by Dr C. C. J. Webb follows, suggesting that some MSS. now in the Chartres Chapter Library may have formed part of the John of Salisbury book bequest to Chartres Cathedral.

The presence of articles on Spinoza and Leibniz in a periodical dedicated to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance may perhaps cause some surprise. This does not, however, detract interest from Mr H. J. Cadbury's note on Spinoza in a Quaker document or the description of the newly discovered Leibniz correspondence with English scholars by Dr R. Klibansky, which brings forth new material on Leibniz's relations with this country.

The high standard of scholarship and the importance of the subject-

¹ K. Francke, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Schulpoesie des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts*, München, 1879, p. 27.

matter of the first number make one look forward to future issues and wish the new periodical every success.

· R. WEISS.

LONDON.

Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice. By CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN. Edited with Introduction by DONALD LEMEN CLARK. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1939. xiv+251 pp. 17s. 6d.

Early Tudor Criticism, Linguistic and Literary. By ELIZABETH J. SWEETING. Oxford: Blackwell. 1940. xvi+177 pp. 12s. 6d.

The appearance of these two works treating of Renaissance literary theory affords evidence of the interest still being taken in the earlier phases of the development of English literary criticism, and more especially in the tangled doctrines and practice of the Tudor and Elizabethan periods. Unhappily *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* represents Professor Baldwin's last work, and it was left unfinished at his death in 1936. We therefore owe the book in its present form to the good offices of Professor D. L. Clark, a former pupil and author of the kindred study, *Rhetoric and Poetic in the Renaissance* (1922); and by him the pious task of editing has been most efficiently performed. As originally planned the work was to be a continuation of the author's earlier volumes, *Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic* (1924) and *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (1928). According to the sub-title the aim was that of dealing with 'Classicism in the Rhetoric and Poetic of Italy, France and England, 1400-1600', the special object being, as we gather elsewhere, to trace 'the influence of sound literary theory on sound literary practice and the disastrous results in literature of the misapplication of rhetorical theory to poetic'. In treating of these large and complicated problems the method adopted is that of supplying accounts of theories and theorists (chaps. I, II, III, VII) together with some discussion of various literary forms, including lyric, pastoral, drama, prose-tales and others (chaps. IV, V, VI, VIII). And the result is an instructive survey of characteristic literary works, in which the fruits of the author's sound learning are everywhere apparent, while of particular value are his fresh and suggestive comments on literary practice and his summary accounts of French and Italian productions. So that the reader is everywhere made to feel that he is in the hands of a competent and stimulating guide. There are, it is true, a few notable omissions due, as the editor explains, to the unfinished character of the work; an occasional estimate, too, is of a debatable kind, as when with Daniel is associated 'a correct but feeble *Defence of Ryme*' (p. 183). But what one misses most are the directness and coherence of the author's earlier works, which had presented the reader with definite and clear ideas concerning the nature and development of critical theory. In the present volume the author

is less explicit. The reader is presented with abundant material for assessing the influence of classicism and the results of the misapplication of rhetoric to poetic, rather than with the considered judgments of the author on those particular points. It may well be that such findings would have emerged more clearly in a section that remained to be written. But in the meantime there is much in the volume that will be valued by those interested in Renaissance literary theory and practice. Apart from the detailed analyses of Renaissance writings, and the references to literary theory, both ancient and mediaeval, the breadth of outlook and the originality with which the subject-matter is treated render the volume a welcome addition to works on the subject.

The exploration of a more limited field is the task undertaken by Miss Sweeting in her *Early Tudor Criticism*. Originally submitted as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of London, it represents a careful inquiry into the critical interests and activities of the period extending roughly from the late fifteenth century to the accession of Elizabeth, with a view to tracing the evolution of a critical tradition at that date. It was a task well worth undertaking, as this particular period has hitherto received less attention than it deserves; and Miss Sweeting's examination, while it has unearthed no systematic discussion of literary matters, has nevertheless brought together a host of incidental comments, both linguistic and literary, that are of definite interest in critical history. Beginning with the earlier Tudor phase, in which Caxton and Hawes are included, she throws light on subsequent pronouncements made by translators, educationalists, University scholars and rhetoricians; and in addition, in two interesting chapters she culls from the early Tudor drama and contemporary parody further relevant material. Altogether her examination is of a searching and fruitful kind. In it are noted the parts played by linguistic controversy, the infiltration of classical precept, discussions on translation, the persistence of the mediaeval tradition and the like; and out of it all there emerge definite signs of a new critical spirit stirring. In matters of presentation the work leaves little to be desired, though there are certain points which might perhaps be noted. Since all facts are not of equal significance, greater emphasis might have been attached to some of the more important pronouncements. In the light of subsequent developments, for instance, more might have been made of Ascham's views on 'imitation', rhyme and romance. At the same time successful efforts have been made throughout to provide the necessary historical background, though Hawes's indebtedness to Boccaccio for his views concerning poetry would seem to have called for more than a passing reference. The brief concluding chapter, again, does less than justice to the findings of the various studies; and a careful summing-up would have been specially useful in directing the reader's attention to the more essential results of the quest. For the rest, the work is written in a fluent and business-like style, is well documented throughout, and everywhere gives evidence of wide and

judicious reading. It is, in short, a scholarly piece of work which throws fresh light on a difficult phase of our critical history; and while it gives promise of valuable work to come, it will doubtless be of assistance to future workers concerned with the many problems of Renaissance criticism.

J. W. H. ATKINS.

ABERYSTWYTH.

St Thomas More's History of the Passion. Translated from the Latin by his granddaughter Mistress MARY BASSET; edited in modern spelling with an Introduction by P. E. HALLETT. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1941. xxii+134 pp. 6s.

Students of More are already under a great obligation to Mgr Hallett for providing them with the first published translation of Stapleton's *Life of Sir Thomas More*. In the present volume he has reprinted with careful footnotes and an Introduction that is a model of conciseness and scope one of the most interesting documents of the imprisonment—the translation by his granddaughter of that portion of More's *Treatise of the Passion* that he wrote in Latin.¹ He had begun the *Treatise* in English but broke off in the third 'lecture' on the Blessed Sacrament probably because in English he tended to digress into the arena of his late controversial writings. He resumed therefore in Latin, but having reached the words *Tunc uniecerunt manus in Jesum* his 'books and pen and ink and paper' were taken from him. The *Treatise* was saved, however, by Margaret Roper, and the Latin continuation was afterwards translated by her daughter, Mary, in a rendering that went 'so nere Sir Thomas More's English phrase' that her cousin, William Rastell, included it in the *English Works* with a special introduction.

Two women were particularly honoured in Rastell's great edition of the English works (1557); Queen Mary, to whom it was dedicated, and Mistress Basset, who on p. 1350 had the distinction of her own eulogium. And the two were intimate companions, for as a 'gentlewoman of the privie chamber' Mary Basset was in close attendance. Her eldest son Philip was named after Philip of Spain, who gave him a silver-gilt christening cup.² Nor was the association of the two Maries new. In Edward VI's reign the Lady Mary's gentlewoman had presented to her mistress her MS. translation of the first five books of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius (B.M. Harleian MS. 1860). The intimacy of the two women had interest also for Rastell, for while he was busy seeing through the press the work that he was to dedicate to the Queen, Mistress Basset was contributing generously, we are told, to the cost of printing and publishing.

¹ The Latin text begins at the words *Hec quum Jesus dixisset, hymno dicto, exierunt in Montem Oliveti*. It was printed (by Rastell's agency) in the Louvain edition of More's Latin works (1565).

² Philip gave to Mary Basset a 'ring with a great ruby' and 'a cross of gold with diamonds in the corner and pearls hanging to the cross': Introduction, p. xv.

Among the books that More had by him in the Tower (and were taken along with his pen, ink and paper) were the works of John Gerson,¹ Chancellor of the University of Paris (d. 1429), 'an excellent learned man', to use Mary Basset's words, 'and a gentle healer of a troubled conscience'. That More was reading Gerson closely is evident in his citations from him both in the *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation* and the two parts of the *Treatise of the Passion*. And it was upon Gerson's *Monatessaron* or Harmony of the Gospels, that he based, in his own words, 'the close progress of the holy story'. For More's purpose was to conduct a close enquiry into the exact sequence in time and place of the events of the Passion as a firm foundation for his devotional realization of the significance of the history of the Passion.

We must now turn to Mistress Basset's translation.² Her idiom and phrasing are remarkably reminiscent of More's; partly because many archaic usages are frequent in both; e.g. namely (*especially*), lightly (*easily*, *readily*), presently (*here and now*), among (*adv. e.g. 'it happeth oft among'*), over this (*moreover*), 'what this young man was' (*what young man this was*), handsome (*agile, adroit*), bear in hand (*deceive*), painted table (*picture*), advertisement (*warning*), shog (*nudge or push*), colour (*excuse*), jetting (*strutting*), meynie (*company*), room (*office*), avoid (*flee*), all to frush (*break to bits*), shew (*past tense of show*); partly also because both are fond of punning or other sequences, e.g. spilling and pilling; great gorbellied glutton; paynim poet (Terence); slothful, sluggish sleeping; 'suffereth the ship to weigh (*drive*) with the waves.'

But it is in passages of uncommon interest that the kinship is most manifest—the two pages comparing Prayer and Pilgrimage from Gerson, the episode of the young man that fled naked, and the dramatic passage beginning 'What Simon, I say, art thou fallen asleep?' The most notable case of apparent copying, however, is based on the famous passage referring to the execution of the Duke of Buckingham in *The Four Last Things*, English Works, p. 86: 'If it so were that thou knewest a great duke . . . thine envye shuldest thou not suddenly change into pity?' Mary Basset's echo of it (pp. 27–8) runs to 28 lines: 'Suppose that thou had'st committed treason against some mighty worldly prince . . . what good trowest thou shouldest thou get at his hand?' This last illustration is notable because

¹ The reference (English Works, p. 1336) to the Council of Constance and to Huss in the English part of the *Treatise* indicate the interest More was finding in Gerson's labours for Christian unity. With his pen, in the pulpit, in Council and in private he had worked to remove the scandal of schism whether of Avignon or Bohemia; and like More himself, Gerson was a man of lively wit. He defended Joan of Arc from the charge of sorcery on the ground that she, at least, made nothing by it; and from the charge of wearing male dress by saying that God had evidently (*certis signis*) chosen Joan (*puellam nostram virilem et militare*) as his ensign (*vezilliferam*) against the enemies of Justice.

² The most obvious difference between the First (English) part of the *Treatise* and the Latin continuation is that the former is broken into sections each concluding with a Prayer. There is only one Collect in the Latin—incorporated in the context. One of these Collects, at least, bears quoting for its possible reference to contemporary representations of the Passion: 'Good Lord, gyve us thy grace, not to reade or here this gospel of thy bytter passion with our eyes and our eares in manner of a passetyne, but that it may with compassyon so synke into our heartes, that it may stretch to theverlastyng profyte of our soules.'

until *The Four Last Things* was printed in 1557 the MS. had been in the possession of Margaret Roper and the family.

The only changes Mgr Hallétt has made in the text are in spelling, punctuation and the relegation of the translator's notes and other marginalia to the foot of the page. He has trusted his readers, armed them with adequate footnotes, and preserved Mary Basset's syntax intact. There is no reason why any modernisation of More should go farther. It is the spelling and not the syntax that troubles the 'lay reader', e.g. merely (*merrily*).

To the workmanlike conciseness and adequacy of the Introduction reference has already been made. The following brief comments on the text and footnotes may be worth making. The common spelling of the Tudor expletive is *marry* not *Mary*; cf. *Twelfth Night*, II, 5: 'Marry, hang thee, brock' (spoken by Sir Toby). The correction *power* for *prayer* (p. 63) is certainly right and it is proof of the editor's caution that he has only suggested it. The only textual error noticed by the writer is the intrusion of *them* after *among* (p. 95, l. 1). *Recourse* on p. 100 need not be questioned; *without recourse* means 'in self sufficiency', i.e. without 'recourse unto God'.¹ The footnote (p. 102) offers two readings; *abide* is unlikely as the spelling is *avoyde*: *not* has dropped out, as the editor suggests.

In conclusion, Mgr Hallett's account of the troubles of Mary Basset's sons, Philp and Charles, in Elizabeth's reign should be noted as new and interesting, and the reviewer's obligations be mentioned to R. W. Chambers' inexhaustible notes to Harpsfield's *Life of More*.

A. W. REED.

LONDON.

The King James Version of the English Bible. An Account of the Development and Sources of the English Bible of 1611 with Special Reference to the Hebrew Tradition. By DAVID DAICHES. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Cambridge: University Press. 1941. 228 pp. 15s.

The wrapper states that the book is based on a dissertation which won the author a doctorate at Oxford University, and, as might be expected, a very satisfactory amount of information has been assembled from various sources, and presented lucidly in a well-planned book. The author tells us in a prefatory note that his task was, first, to write the history of the English Bible from 1523 to 1611, and, second, to throw some light on the sources, equipment and methods of the translators, basing his conclusions on a study of the Book of Isaiah.

The first of these tasks, in particular, has been accomplished admirably, for we are given a comprehensive survey of the struggles and vicissitudes which characterized the production of the translations of Tyndale and

¹ Cf. *English Works*, p. 270 D: 'It [Pelagian heresy] minisheth the necessity of man's recourse unto God for calling help of his grace.'

Coverdale, the Great Bible, the Douai Bible, the Bishops' Bible, the Geneva Bible and others down to the King James Bible, or Authorised Version, though the author tells us that 'the word "authorised" does not occur on the title-page of the 1611 Bible'. The causes and aims of these translations are discussed, and their varying values indicated. But when we realize that all this is dealt with in one single chapter of 72 pages, it stands to reason that the material is treated in a very concentrated form. Nevertheless the reading is not unduly heavy, for the style throughout the book is pleasant and alive.

The second chapter is called 'The Hebrew Tradition', and in many respects this and the following chapter offer the most valuable contribution of the book. It consists of a survey of the study of Hebrew, as well as of Greek, during the Renaissance, and it might well be used as part of the groundwork for a treatise on the history of Hebrew scholarship in Christianity—a work which Old Testament students would greatly appreciate. The survey is continued in chap. III, which Mr Daiches calls 'The Scholarship of the Translators of the Authorised Version'. He shows how the establishing of the 'trilingual colleges' (Latin, Greek and Hebrew) such as that of Ximenes at Alcalá was followed by the founding of similar colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, with regius professorships and readerships in Hebrew and Divinity. On this basis, the chapter surveys the study of Hebrew in the English Universities, and outlines the main achievements of the personalities involved.

Chapter IV deals with the translation of the Authorised Version itself, and indicates some of the sources consulted in its formation. The author truly says that 'to determine exactly and in detail the sources of the Authorised Version would be an impossible task, as the combinations of possible sources which would have yielded the same results are almost infinite in number'. He mentions about twenty-four of these which might well have influenced the renderings in the Authorised Version. But that does not seem to satisfy Mr Daiches, for he shows further how, in revising these older versions, the translators went back to Hebrew originals. It is here he connects up with the preceding chapters, explaining that the development of Hebrew study inevitably left its mark on the new translation. From this fact Mr Daiches deduces an interesting hypothesis that not only did the translators use the Hebrew originals for their version, but they were also influenced by Rabbinic scholarship and exegesis. Above all he shows how the commentaries of David Kimchi exercised a great influence even on the translation itself. The Hebrew of Kimchi, the author suggests, was easier to follow than that of other Jewish commentators, and there undoubtedly was a traditional connexion between his grammars and commentaries and the work of Renaissance scholars.

To substantiate his theory, the author discusses in detail various passages from the Book of Isaiah—about 120 in all—and collates the renderings in Coverdale's Bible, the Great Bible, and other versions, the

Targums, Septuagint and Vulgate, and, finally, the renderings of Kimchi. In most cases an agreement is shown between the Authorised Version and Kimchi, even sometimes at the expense of agreement with other renderings, such as Septuagint and Vulgate, which had been traditionally accepted in Christianity. A great deal of research is involved in these notes, short though they are, and, on the whole, the result looks conclusive.

The impression left by the author is that the theory is new, or, at least, he does not say that the supposition has been put forward before. But it is a well-accepted fact that the Authorised Version does show traces of familiarity with the renderings of Kimchi, particularly in the Psalter. What is new is the application of the theory to Isaiah. One would like to know further how the translators accepted this influence in view of the very virile antipathy of Kimchi to Christianity. On the other hand, it would be well to remember the reservation made by Mr Daiches himself, that, 'to prove similarity is not necessarily to prove direct influence'.

There are various details in the book which cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. For example, p. 85 has a rather unexpected remark, that Erasmus was 'the greatest of all the humanists' of the Renaissance. Surely this requires qualification. P. 89 mentions that Jerome settled in Bethlehem about 385; the date usually given is 386. It is also difficult to see how Jerome lived in Palestine for forty years, for before 386 he had lived in Syria and Rome, and he died in 420. Again, in the discussion on the Complutensian Polyglot on p. 142 we are told that it was completed in 1517, and the papal licence for its publication came in 1520; but there might have been added the reason for the delay of the licence—that some of the MSS. were missing. The date of its first issue was 1522.

On p. 146, it could have been stated that the Soncino Hebrew Bible was published in 1488.

But it is in the treatment of Kimchi that the author is disappointing. Time and again he stresses how the work of this Rabbinic scholar influenced the Authorised Version, yet we look in vain for information in the book as to when and where Kimchi lived, and what characterized his work. True, there are scattered statements about him, but the importance attributed to his work and his influence merits also a delineation of his character. Further, the average reader of this book would appreciate an English translation of the quotations from Kimchi.

The Hebrew text used for the purposes of the collation in chap. iv is that of the Hebrew Bible of the Antwerp Polyglot, but it would have been better if Mr Daiches had compared this with the latest edition of *Biblia Hebraica* (Stuttgart, 1937), as he has compared the Septuagint text of Antwerp with the last edition of Rahlfs. He would have been surprised at the number of differences between the two Massoretic texts. Incidentally, it is very seldom one sees 'massoretic', but that is the way it is consistently written here.

A book of this kind should, by all means, have included a bibliography, or at least a list of books for further reference. The indications in foot-notes are not sufficient.

B. J. ROBERTS.

ABERYSTWYTH.

Milton's Contemporary Reputation: An Essay, together with A Tentative List of Printed Allusions to Milton, 1641-1674, and facsimile reproductions of five contemporary pamphlets written in answer to Milton. By W. R. PARKER. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1940. 299 pp.

This volume arrives tentatively (though with assurance) at conclusions which may cause distress among uncritical devotees. The accuracy and tact with which the material is presented are not permitted to limit the force of the counterblast against the hero-worship which vitiates so much nineteenth- and some twentieth-century Milton criticism, and makes it difficult to see him in his place in the seventeenth with the true perspective necessary to a proper understanding of his great abiding value. Not wasting time on these older critics, Mr Parker deals briefly, justly, and magnanimously with 'the idolatrous Masson', and proceeds in his Essay to estimate the nature and extent of Milton's reputation during his lifetime. He tries to avoid not only 'the superstition of masterpieces' but what he calls 'the clipping bureau error' by basing his conclusions on printed and manuscript references, commonplace books, translations and adaptations, editions and reprints. A creditable part of his material is new; but, many allusions perhaps not having yet been found, he modestly describes his estimate as suggestive rather than definitive.

The Tentative List gives 113 printed allusions. Only a dozen are new; all are quoted at length, with detailed references. The gathering and checking of these is a great service. It would have been yet greater if the manuscript allusions had been listed in the same way. This List and the five answers provide a practically complete record of the known printed comments on Milton—with one exception, Sheldon's 'lengthy and significant' *Dignity of Kingship* which the editor regretfully omits. The record is a sorry one: apart from Filmer's *Observations* and a few brief passages in the List, prejudice and gall quite overpower reasonable criticism of Milton's opinions and principles. This makes the absence of any quotations from Sheldon the more a pity, especially if (like the present reviewer) one would prefer to sacrifice the obvious advantages of facsimile to gain space for more material. Those who will trust Mr Parker's accuracy in the List would have trusted a reprint of the tracts, perhaps with the excision of some of the sorrier stuff to make way for parts of Sheldon; those who will not trust his quotations are not likely to be satisfied to deal with his facsimiles, always more trying to the eyes than the originals, even with the facilities of a good American university

press. But for Sheldon there are perhaps other plans; we are told that the present volume is a beginning only.

It is a good beginning. If one were to cavil, it would be on the ground that the boundaries are too tightly drawn. Difficult as it is to distinguish between reputation and influence, especially in so light-fingered an age, it is yet necessary to consider the traces of Milton's arguments which occur among his contemporaries—as in Lord Brooke's use of *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, discussed by Mr Whiting but here unmentioned. One notes too the absence of any speculation on the connexion with Roger Williams suggested by his curious record of the exchange of Dutch for some of Milton's languages. And one regrets the absence from the roll of critics of that delightfully confused lady, Williams's friend, who refused to read Milton's *Eikonoklastes* because 'that is he that has wrote a book of the lawfulness of divorce, and if report says true, he had at that time two or three wives living'.

But whatever material Mr Parker may add, he is unlikely to change the conclusions of his admirable Essay. This is more than a record of Milton's reputation, for the fresh account of its progress is made to throw light—where alone it is of any value—on his character and work. We have a deeper understanding of the baffled zeal, the anger and shame, the striving for glory, the proud (and overweening) evaluation of controversial achievements, and the tragic irony of Milton's whole public career. To see him thus frustrated in the market-place is chastening, as it is heartening to see how shortly he 'rose from the grave to stir the minds and hearts of his countrymen'. He still so rises; and we are indebted for the view of his pathetic humanity which is here so made to throw into relief the tremendous resilience of his idealism that we admire him, with Mr Parker, this side idolatry—but only just this side.

ARTHUR BARKER.

TORONTO.

Sir William Temple; The Man and His Work. By HOMER E. WOODBRIDGE. New York: The Modern Language Association of America; London: Humphrey Milford. xii+361 pp. 1941. 25s.

This is the life of Temple we have been waiting for. The most recent study of the seventeenth-century 'libertin', by Miss Clara Marburg, 1932, was limited in its scope and moreover was vitiated to some extent by the writer's adherence to the old conception of Temple, which Macaulay did so much to popularize, that of a vain and timid valetudinarian. It now appears that he was none of these things but a man of 'extraordinary frankness, vivacity, nobility and charm'—in short the sort of man who would win Dorothy Osborne's heart. The evidence is now before us and the verdict in any fair mind goes to Temple. But Professor Woodbridge, though he provides the evidence, is mistaken in thinking that the old tradition survived Moore Smith's work on Temple. Mr F. J. Fielden

in the preface to his *Three Essays of Temple*, 1939, for example, affirmed that 'the sound commonsense, the tact and urbanity, the loyalty and singleness of heart which had characterized his earlier years remained with him to the end'—and his is only one of several voices to the same effect.

Nevertheless, here is all the evidence we are likely to have, drawn from contemporary correspondence published and unpublished and used judiciously and with due sense of perspective to limn forth the man as his familiars and colleagues saw him. Particularly valuable for this purpose are the manuscript political papers in the British Museum. It was open for anyone before to tap contemporary opinion in the Saville and Hatton correspondences, the Bulstrode and Essex Papers and elsewhere in that richly documented age. It was left to Professor Woodbridge to utilize the British Museum MS. and this has enabled him to write a fuller account of the highly interesting—some might say diverting—diplomacy which led to the signing of the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1678 than has hitherto appeared.

We need hardly say that Temple emerges from that critical business with full honours. No serious historian has doubted his devotion to the idea which then inspired patriotic Englishmen, apart from the Court, that is the bridling of France; and this implied a cultivation of the Dutch and their Prince which yielded the most satisfactory results both to Temple personally and to the English people. I do not know of any account of these proceedings which places Charles and his Ambassador in more dramatic opposition in respect of both aims and character. Perhaps Mr Woodbridge leans a little to the view of 'Grandison' Temple, but the tale is told as fully and candidly as the documents allow and the result is devastating for Charles.

It was wise to explore this business fully, for Temple's character and personality are involved as they could not be by the employments of the sedentary years, but our author's interest is primarily in the man of letters. I fancy he tackled the political part with some misgivings, as well he might. But I am bound to say that, over all (if I may use that expression for 'by and large'), his literary chapters, sound as they are, did not interest me so much as the political—and of course the romantic interest is confined to a tiny corner of the opening chapters. This however is merely a personal preference, for the literary output is illustrated by a mass of new matter which argues a ripe scholarship. Perhaps Temple would be alarmed to find his modest and private essays (he never published any of them) made to bear such a load of comment, but the comment is always pertinent and our author has been able to make certain claims for them which should be noted. One should be a little on one's guard here, for Mr Woodbridge's partisanship is so flagrant—personally I like it—that even out of Sir William's failures he will snatch a sort of victory. For example, after concluding, as he must, that the *Essay Of Ancient and Modern Learning* was mistaken, he extracts the comfort that it is a contribution to the 'cyclic theory of civilization as an argument of

progress', which looks very fine. Now there is no doubt whatever that in his essays, even the more jejune ones, Temple discovers a forward-looking mind. It is recognized now that his essay *Of Government*, for example, anticipated the modern theory of the origins of government. Mr Woodbridge says, somewhat hyperbolically. 'Its astonishing originality, indeed, for a long time obscured its importance.' He has the sanction of Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, where Temple's discovery that the origins of society lie in custom and the family, not in contracts or 'state of nature', is described as 'almost uncanny'. Also in considering the essay *Of Poetry* he is carried away, as other recent writers have been, by what looks like originality, viz. Temple's challenge to the 'rules', his hint of appreciation for Scandinavian poetry, and his approach to the historical point of view in criticism. Now I see some hints of these things in the essay, but far larger looms the spectre of the Ancients v. Moderns wrangle. What does the essay amount to but that the moderns are the débris of the ancients and that they are poked by conceits (there go the Metaphysical poets!) and the spirit of satire (there go the travesties which originally provoked the famous *querelle*!)?

This warning apart, and perhaps I am being merely personal here, I heartily commend Professor Woodbridge's book to the student of the period. It is exhaustive without being in the least exhausting, its style is persuasive, and its partisanship is of the sort we easily pardon.

GEORGE KITCHIN.

EDINBURGH.

The Gentle Hertford. By HELEN SARD HUGHES. New York: Macmillan. 1940. xiii + 506 pp. \$4.00.

Professor Helen Sard Hughes of Wellesley College has done a good piece of work in publishing the life of Frances Thynne, Countess of Hertford, thus giving us an intimate picture of the social and literary world of the eighteenth century. The authoress has presented the central figure in the most interesting way possible, for we see her in her own letters and in her friends', in her journal and commonplace books, and in the memoir of John Cowlade, a member of her household. Everywhere she justifies the title of the 'gentle Hertford'.

We follow Lady Hertford with a never-flagging interest, for her life touched those of so many people of note in the world of fashion or letters. Her pen gives vivid pictures of life in the country, where she indulged a love of picturesque gardens and where she was completely happy. She was a member of the court at St James's and Hampton Court, and she describes the intrigues, political and otherwise, of which she was a witness. In one unforgettable letter she tells of the last hours of Queen Caroline, 'the best Queen, Friend, and Mistress that ever servants had' (vide p. 110 et seq.). 'Last of all she took leave of the King, and thanked

him for all his goodness to her in the most moving terms imaginable; amongst other things she said: "My poor servants are under excessive affliction, give me leave, Sir, to recommend them to your protection.""

'When she had done speaking she bade one of her Bedchamber-women to take away the candles that stood by the bed. The King asked her if they hurt her eyes; she said: "No, Sir, but I would save you the trouble of seeing me die."'

We delight in the pictures of Lady Hertford's home life, with its pleasant domesticity, and most particularly do we read with interest the letters between mother and beloved son, when the latter was making the grand tour, from which, to the inexpressible sorrow of his parents, he never returned. Lord Beauchamp wrote of everything he thought would entertain his mother, of roads and houses, of natural scenery, of the unusual things he saw on his journey. She wrote daily of the happenings in the household (p. 284): 'Whether I have materials to fill my paper with or not, my fingers naturally take up the pen and my heart dictates that I cannot be at a loss to find something to say to a son so deservedly dear to me, and whose good-nature interests him in every occurrence which happens in his own family.'

Her affection, her common sense, her piety, all are there. In her letters to Isaac Watts and to Lady Huntingdon we learn much of the religious movements of her day. As literary patroness she wrote to James Thomson and to William Shenstone, and there are letters to Pope, Lady Winchelsea, John Dyer, Richard Savage and Stephen Duck. Other letters throw light on the quarrel of Henrietta Knight, Bolingbroke's half-sister, and her husband, the former 'the same person she was ten, nay twenty, years ago, her dress as French, her manner as thoughtless'. Most of Henrietta's troubles were occasioned, according to Lady Hertford, 'by her behavior', which 'seemed too light and giddy'. Alnwick MSS. go far to answer the question of whether Henrietta was the guilty party or not, for verses exchanged between Mrs Knight and Lord Beauchamp's tutor, Dalton, in whom the former was said to show too lively an interest, are found in Lady Hertford's commonplace book, and as the author of *The Gentle Hertford* says (p. 170):

The verses were copied, surely, without a thought of guilt, since Lady Hertford's commonplace-book was submitted to the reading of admiring friends. Did the effusions, admired (some of them at least) by Elizabeth Rowe, exceed the bounds of propriety in the year 1734? A sober moralist, conscious of subsequent events, might read into them an intimacy and an ardor which was more than literary. Another reader, sympathetically disposed toward Henrietta and her companions, would discover in their stilted lines only an extravagance of sentiment and speech natural to Henrietta. The second opinion was without doubt that of Lady Hertford's household; and the style of Henrietta's ordinary correspondence would seem to justify this interpretation. Mrs Rowe on reading the verses (perhaps the earlier items in the series only), wrote to Lady Hertford: 'The songs as well as the answers to them have something in them perfectly polite and sprightly. Everything Mrs Knight writes is an advantage to her character, and brings back to my memory the charms of her conversation' (Alnwick MS. No. 110, f. 338).

The author has furnished the book with valuable Index, Plates, Notes, Bibliography and Genealogical Tables, and students of the eighteenth century are indebted to her for her work, which has obviously given much pleasure in the doing.

MARJORIE WILLIAMS.

GUILDFORD.

Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs Thrale). By JAMES L. CLIFFORD. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1941. xix+492 pp. 21s.

In the preparation of his valuable book Mr Clifford has searched for and found more of Mrs Piozzi's writings than any of his predecessors. For the first time full use is made of the so-called 'Children's Book' kept by her at Streatham from 1766 to 1778; the unpublished five-volume literary autobiography compiled for her adopted heir John Salusbury, the later 'New Common-Place Book', seventeen smaller diaries, and 'a large collection of miscellaneous business papers and occasional jottings' have all been sifted; Mr Clifford has had access to the six-volume diary and commonplace book, *Thraliana*, now being edited by Miss Balderstone for the Huntington Library, and in addition has read at least 2500 letters written by Mrs Piozzi and over 2000 addressed to her. The search has taken him through the United States, Great Britain and Italy. He has had the advice of numerous distinguished scholars in his field and the use of original and critical work as yet unpublished (*Thraliana*, for example, and the unpublished notes of Drs Chapman and Tyson on letters in the John Rylands Collection from Mrs Thrale to Dr Johnson). The result is not only the best documented but also the best life of Mrs Piozzi yet to appear.

Mrs Piozzi in her *Characters* of the Streatham portraits has given a complaining hint of the kind of Life she would wish to be written:

In these features so placid, so cold, so serene,
What trace of the wit or the Welshwoman's seen?

She would therefore be better content with Mr Clifford than with Sir Joshua Reynolds. Hester Lynch Salusbury was born at Bodvel near Pwllheli, the descendant of an illegitimate branch of the Tudors, and numbered among her ancestors the celebrated Katherine of Beraine. This was a distinction by no means unique—it was not for nothing Katherine was called *Mam Cymru*, Mother of Wales—but it was one she was properly and persistently proud of. Her father was the improvident, impecunious, wayward John Salusbury, her mother Hester Maria Cotton, who not only determined to marry John and clear his debts (and did), but offered her daughter just such a lesson in the management of a husband and home as she needed in her relationship with Thrale. Perhaps Mr Clifford has not sufficiently stressed that his heroine was the true child of both her parents, with her mother's gift of discipline and resolution imposed on the mercurial nature of her father. There is hardly an

'inconsistency' in her character which is not accounted for by this simple explanation. She inherited too (more particularly from her father) the intense tradition of Welsh family life, with all its possessiveness—and transmitted nothing of it to the independent Queeney. Her ties with her native Wales were many and strong. Her earliest years were spent there, during her long and eventful social career in England she at all times visited it with a sense of home-coming, and when the struggle for recognition in London grew wearisome it was to Wales she and Piozzi turned for happiness. Moreover, the second half of the eighteenth century was a grand epoch of the London Welsh. It was then the Cymmrodorion and Gwyneddigion Societies were founded, the first Gorsedd meeting took place in the Long Fields behind the British Museum in 1792, and the city found room for Welshmen as diverse in origin and attainment as Sir William Jones the Orientalist, Thomas Pennant, Richard Wilson, Richard Price, Dr Abraham Rees the encyclopedist, David Williams of the Literary Fund (the Rev. Mr Williams of p. 331, n. 3?), John Nash the architect, the surgeon-author David Samwell, and the amazing Edward Williams, better known by his bardic title Iolo Morganwg. After 1788 Mrs Piozzi and the Brecon-born Mrs Siddons were devoted friends; Pennant was her friend and kinsman; at Johnson's invitation she contributed *The Three Warnings* to the Miscellanies of Anna Williams, the blind Welsh poetess; she subscribed for the works of her fellow-countrymen, including Iolo's poems, and must have had strong feelings about this fiery, quixotic, tricky individualist who refused to be put down by Dr Johnson and Prime Minister Pitt alike. The Gwyneddigion Society contained disputants after Mrs Piozzi's own heart:

Their various texts they talk about,
In arts, in taste, and learning;
And often solve historic doubts,
With classical discerning.

Did any of these Caractacans (the word, like the stanza, is Samwell's) share Streatham feasts with Thralian lions? It is reasonable to suppose that in unpublished Welsh sources of this period there is material for a new chapter on Mrs Piozzi. Unfortunately, I find nothing to the purpose in the Salesbury Collection now in the Library of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff. This was brought together by Enoch R. G. Salisbury (for the spellings Salisbury, Salesbury, Salusbury, see Hubert Morgan, *Y Salesbury*, in *Y Llenor*, xvi, 1936, pp. 39 ff.), who put into it all he could find written by or about anyone with the family name (including the *Memoirs* of Sally Salisbury, of fragrant memory), but it contains no Thrale-Piozzi MS. The Salesbury copy of *Collectanea Johnsoniana* (Chester, 1823) supplies a number of MS. additions to the list of books sold from Mrs Piozzi's library, and the names of some bidders. Such a meagre yield pays tribute to Mr Clifford's painstaking and exact scholarship and to his impressive store of information.

This new portrait of Mrs Piozzi is more favourable, and is certainly

juster, than that we are used to. For she has suffered a twofold de-
 traction from her contemporaries and from the followers of Boswell and
 Macaulay. Mr Clifford does not plead a case, he states the facts, and these
 include an astonishing record of indifference, misunderstanding, and
 ingratitude from those she loved and helped. It says much for her
 resilience and toughness that she came through triumphant, if at times
 battered. The arrangements about Bach-y-Graig between the brothers
 John and Thomas Salusbury worked to her disadvantage; Sir Thomas
 Cotton neglected to make a will and so deprived her of the provision she
 had been led to expect; Thrale imperilled her future and her children's
 by recklessness in business, and their health by loose living; he had her
 bear him twelve children in less than fourteen years, the pronouncements
 of Johnson, Queeney, the Burneys, Baretti and Sir Lucas Pepys after
 her well-advised marriage to Piozzi would not be too strong had she
 thrown herself away on a monkey-leading organ-grinder; to her adopted
 heir she gave Brynbella, and he rewarded her by extortion, cutting down
 her beloved Bach-y-Graig woods, and preventing the publication of her
 letters; her unsatisfactory relationship with 'Mr Thrale's daughters' is
 sufficiently known; and after her death came the vile misuse of the Conway
 letters. It is right that these items be balanced against her own mistakes
 and failings. She lived longer and more intensely than most, and within
 sensible limits lived her own way. She was not cut on another's pattern—
 not even Dr Johnson's. Her life was full and varied before she met him,
 and after they parted. He needed her more than she him. It is a final
 commendation of Mr Clifford's book that not only does he for the first
 time set her in true perspective, both literary and social, but that his
 reader will finish with new understanding and regard for this gifted,
 versatile, and indomitable woman.

GWYN JONES.

ABERYSTWYTH.

The Reverend Colonel Finch. By ELIZABETH NITCHIE. New York:
 Columbia University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1940.
 x+110 pp. 10s.

The Reverend Colonel Finch was what his friend Crabb Robinson
 loved to call a 'character', that is to say an eccentric gentleman of
 peculiar tastes. Thus, while he claimed military rank, he had no right
 whatever to assume the title of Colonel which he adopted, and this is
 but one instance of that 'strange habit of talking incorrectly' which led
 malignant critics to label him 'Lyar'. In spite of this weakness, Robert
 Finch was a man of parts, a scholar, connoisseur and virtuoso, patron of
 artists and men-of-letters, an art collector and the possessor of a library
 which he ultimately bequeathed to the University of Oxford. The key
 to his contradictory qualities is to be found in the excessive vanity which
 led him to make all sorts of unjustifiable claims—to aristocratic con-
 nexions, to friends, to political influence and the like. It also caused him

to quarrel with those who did not share his own opinion of his importance, and to be constantly on the look-out for insults when none were intended. On the other hand, Finch must have possessed much personal charm; he was certainly a generous friend to many less well-to-do men and he was, if not a profound scholar, yet interested in many branches of art and learning. His chief protégé and adopted son and heir was Henry Mayer, who became a figure of some importance in the Italian liberal movement: the relation between them seems to have been wholly delightful and Mayer, at any rate, had no cause and no desire to underestimate his debt to the older man, whose encouragement and affection never failed him while Finch lived, and secured his independence afterwards.

Miss Nitchie's monograph on Finch is compiled with industry and with obvious interest. She has done her work satisfactorily and if the result is painstaking rather than brilliant, that is not a fair cause of complaint. On the contrary, she is to be congratulated on producing a sound and readable account with none of the excursions into pseudo psycho-analysis for which such a subject might have provided a plausible excuse in less judicious hands. Finch deserved a brief biography detailing all the facts, and here we have it without frills and without padding. Here too is an account of the Finch Collection now 'distributed among the libraries and the museums of the University' of Oxford. This chapter runs to forty pages and is much the longest in the volume, in itself a sign of the writer's sense of proportion. Probably quotation from various letters and diaries was the best way to illustrate the character and interests of her subject, but it is nevertheless regrettable that there is no full description of the collection or list of the correspondents. We read of Severn's 'Ariel' among the paintings, and of other unspecified oil-paintings, sketches and engravings in the Ashmolean, but the art collection is not otherwise described; the only book specifically mentioned is the Pisa edition of Shelley's *Adonais* and the rest of the chapter consists of quotations of some of the more interesting letters in 'the seventeen volumes of Finch's correspondence'. Very many of these letters, no doubt quite truly, are stigmatized as dull and from obscure people, but one would like to know the names of some of the writers besides the half-dozen or so from whom there are quotations. Above all, there should surely have been a general description of the Finch Collection as a whole. Finch possessed a Library of some 10,000 books; he had a large collection of paintings, coins, etc. The collection was packed in twenty-nine cases, the receipt of which was acknowledged by the University in June 1840, when Mayer handed it over. For what was it grateful? The University of Oxford does not accept and house what is in bulk valueless. Miss Nitchie fails to convince us of the worth of the Finch Collection: this, whatever the excuse afforded by her title, is the main defect of her essay.

EDITH J. MORLEY.

Ten Victorian Poets. By F. L. LUCAS. Cambridge: University Press. 1940. xx+199 pp. 7s. 6d.

Mr Lucas's book is a collection of broadcast 'talks' on poets. The facts that these 'talks' were given to the air, that there were listeners for a long series of them, and that they are worth setting on record in print, as they are indeed, are in some measure a corrective to any extreme of disillusionment that may in part be aimed against Victorian complacency or optimism.

Mr Lucas, very naturally, finds some kinship of spirit with Arnold, though it is a nice question whether Arnold was not given to complacency, of however different a colour. I find comfort myself in the thought that the Philistine, of whom both make bitter and justified complaint, has always been with us and indeed with each of us. Philistinism is not a disease: it is almost a brother to original sin, and to be conquered by grace and works. I cannot hold that Philistinism is peculiarly English, or peculiarly allied to morality (p. 28). But Mr Lucas is in the right in his refusal to accept any predestinarian view of the problem. He will not have the elect set aside, and sees no fundamental obstacle to the salvation of all men. This is indeed his hope for the world of men, however such hopes may be dashed for the time by the apparent triumph of the age of science and of machines and of the great false god of Progress.

Mr Lucas approaches the study of his poets in the right and the only true spirit, seeing poetry as something of infinite importance inasmuch as it is poetry and the spirit of poetry that alone give significance to life. Poetry, I would say and think myself to be in harmony with the trend of his introductory remarks, is not a substitute for life, nor a criticism of life, but is life. Such a view takes poetry and poets out of the hands of the pedants and the scholastics, of all whom Mr Lucas tends to dismiss compendiously as 'critics' with 'fat fingers' (p. xiv).

Yet Mr Lucas has to descend to criticism himself, after all. Indeed, it is his profession, and the purpose of this book, as of this review. As he says, 'it too is an art for which there is both time and need' (p. 158). Criticism is curiously apologetic to-day, in the main. Have we escaped from Victorian 'cant', and cloven to a new 'freedom and honesty', only to mistrust all standards and judgements at our disposal? Mr Lucas makes the point in relation to poetry itself (pp. 24-5), and it is important. Tennyson had a considerable gift of humour, much neglected by his critics. Real 'cant' cannot exist alongside real humour. Carlyle's notion of 'belief' has been heavily bludgeoned. Yet Mr Lucas holds that 'even a flimsy banner may be better to fight under than none at all', and the whole battle is reopened. He has, perhaps, his own banner.

Does he not, after all, single out for praise what most appeals to him, depreciating what he lumps together as various forms of 'propaganda', including that high function of poetry, the prophetic? Yet it is this kind of poetry which opens the way to the multitude. 'High seriousness' is certainly not Mr Lucas's touchstone for poetry: on the whole he sees

a grave risk in giving way to it. Christina Rossetti's piety damaged her poetry. 'Victorianism had won' (p. 170) explains some very complex matters in the lives of Rossetti and Swinburne. Whereas it might well be argued that the excess of conscience is less destructive to art than the excess of self-consciousness: certainly it is less inhibiting.

The most enthusiastic of these essays is that upon Rossetti, the least that upon Browning. Morris and Hardy come out well from their present ordeal. One of the truest of many true sayings in this book is that upon Hardy:

I doubt if any English poet has more studied the craft of verse, or invented more new metrical forms and variations

I must confess, however, that I find Morris in *Sigurd the Volsung* in certain respects even more 'Victorian' than the *Idylls of the King*.

If Mr Lucas wants us to stop reading criticism and to read poetry instead, he must not print any more books of criticism. For my part, this book has sent me back to two poets whom I have not read for many years. It is that kind of criticism which sells its wares.

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

Anthony Trollope's England. By JOHN HAZARD WILDMAN. Providence, R.I.: Brown University. 1940. 135 pp. \$2.00.

The title of Dr Wildman's book is misleading, for he is not concerned with the slighter aspect of Trollope's England in so far as Trollope describes it pictorially, nor with that English outlook, bred on Victorian idealism, which makes him both a man of his own age and a writer whose study is the unchanging one of human nature. Dr Wildman, in his concern with party government in church and state, especially in relation to the landed gentry, and the clash between established interests and those of the new manufacturing classes, has summed up neatly only the historical facts of mid-Victorian society as they relate to Trollope's novels. In little more than twenty pages the relevance of this to Trollope, the creative artist, has to be shown; and though there is greater vitality in this part of the book, one cannot find any fresh illumination.

The author points out Trollope's interest in the normal and accepted way of life from the point of view of the country gentry, his use of plots where family and finance are the conventional hindrances in the way of marriage, and where rival groups in society provide opportunities for dramatic conflict; but he does not go deeper in his study. His book is an introduction to its theme, not a study of it.

One is grateful to the mid-Victorian era for permitting Trollope to develop in it the blended reverence and detached criticism that suited his temperament: only so could he have accepted Mrs Proudie and put her in her place, thwarted Lady Lufton's plans and yet left her at the end in supreme possession of her feudal rights at Framley. We look in vain in this book for any insight into the subtlety of an art which achieves

such effects as these. Perhaps Trollope's awareness of the clash between Victorian idealism and actuality allowed him to see this period as the perfect setting for the odd mixture of good and bad conduct that ever distinguishes men faced with the temptations of the world, and so enabled his readers to believe in most of his people, the weak and the foolish, as well as the brave and the good. Admittedly Trollope's England may seem less important used only as an opportunity for the novelist and his men and women; but it was for their pleasure he created Barse-shire. Dr Wildman recognizes Trollope's fidelity to fact: more important to us seems his freedom, without the use of passion, or any other form of intensity, to bring us into a personal relationship with the people of his mind, and to give the varying tones of their environment with the delicate touch of his discriminating style.

I. M. WESTCOTT.

SWANSEA.

Masters of Dramatic Comedy and their Social Themes. By HENRY TEN EYCK PERRY. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1939. xxii + 428 pp. 21s. 6d.

In this series of studies of 'masters of dramatic comedy from the standpoint of both social criticism and aesthetic form' Professor Perry ranges far and wide in European comedy from classical Greek to modern times. His opening chapters deal with Aristophanes, Menander, Plautus and Terence. Neo-classical comedy of the Renaissance is exemplified in the plays of Ben Jonson, who is judged to display more clearly than any of his contemporaries the combined roles of dramatic artist and social critic of 'the evils of an economic civilization'. Subsequent chapters deal with the most significant writers of social comedy in Spain (Lope de Vega and his school), France (Molière, 'the greatest writer of thoughtful comedy in the history of the theatre'), Denmark (Holberg), Italy (Goldoni), Germany and Austria (Lessing and Raimund), and Russia (Gogol, Turgenev and Chekhov). A final chapter on 'Modern Times' is largely devoted to Bernard Shaw.

Professor Perry deals systematically with each of the comedies of his selected authors, describing their plots in considerable detail, discussing the social problems involved, and shrewdly criticizing the quality of the dramatic treatment. Although he disclaims any intention of writing for specialists, even they may welcome the thoroughness of his critical descriptions, for few could claim to be equally knowledgeable on all the authors discussed. For the less specialized reader Professor Perry has written a most helpful and stimulating introduction to European social comedy by way of its greatest exponents; and his incidental comments on their dramatic heritage and milieu sufficiently indicate their relation to the general development of comedy from the earliest times.

F. E. BUDD.

LONDON.

Translations from Horace, Juvenal and Montaigne—With Two Imaginary Conversations. By R. C. TREVELYAN. Cambridge: University Press. 1940. x+185 pp. 7s. 6d.

This volume contains verse translations of Horace, *Epistles*, *Ars Poetica*, four of the *Satires* (two autobiographical; the meeting with the Bore on the Via Sacra, and the Damasippus poem), and of the *Third Satire* of Juvenal; a prose translation of Montaigne, *Of Repentance*, and *Of Three Kinds of Intercourse*; and *Two Imaginary Conversations*. The 'pedestrian Muse' of Horace is admirably rendered in an unpretentious style that aptly reproduces the urbane simplicity of the original. Scrupulous in its accuracy, correct in its scholarship, free from padding (except in a very few places) and from intrusive colour, the translation has a free, easy readability that should recommend to the non-classical reader these attractive poems. The ten-syllabled blank verse has been adopted 'because its rhythmical flexibility allows of a closer translation than is possible in any other metre'; the translator handles this metre with the varied excellence of a sound technique. In the few cases where the 'more difficult' fourteen-syllabled verse has been used, he seems less successful, but he has gained the advantage of a line-for-line rendering.

Blank verse is less suited to the more incisive satire of Juvenal, and, although Mr Trevelyan's verse is good, he inevitably falls short of the mordant vigour that rhyming couplets would have given. Montaigne appears in this version stripped of his archaic charms, but clothed, by way of compensation, in modern English prose that is both faithful and felicitous. This translation of the two essays encourages the hope of more from the same pen.

The two conversations, with which the book ends, are written with vividness and happy characterization; Horace, Tibullus, and Horace's patron Maecenas combine criticisms of poetry and life with self-revealing portraits of themselves which are not without touches of pathos. No reader will fail to enjoy the artistry of Mr Trevelyan, who here confirms the impression of sure scholarship and literary power that he made by his translation of Lucretius.

J. F. LOCKWOOD.

LONDON.

Le Roman du Comte de Poitiers, poème français du XIIIe siècle. Edited by BERTIL MALMBERG. (*Études Romanes de Lund*, 1.) Lund: Gleerup; Copenhagen: Munksgaard. 1940. 210 pp.

Mr Malmberg's edition of the *Comte de Poitiers* opens a new series of Romance studies, edited by Professor Alf Lombard. It was begun in 1936 at the suggestion of Professor Walberg, and its publication under his successor is evidence of continuity of policy in the excellent Romance school of Lund, just as the opening of a new series is evidence of the energy of Mr Lombard. We wish him success in the venture.

Midway in the composition of his work the author had to meet the shock of Mr V. F. Koenig's edition (Paris, Droz, 1937). He persisted, however, on the advice of his supervisors, in order to develop certain matters over which Mr Koenig had passed lightly. This is particularly the case with pp. 40-101, which contain an elaborate treatise on the versification, phonology and morphology of the piece. There is also a well-nourished glossary. Textual differences are slight. Mr Malmberg has developed persuasively some new views as to the literary history of the main theme.

Within the 'wager cycle' of stories, of which *Cymbeline* and the ballads of Marianson's ring are the best known, the *Comte de Poitiers* stands closest to the *Roman de la Violette*. The consensus of critical opinion has favoured the thesis which makes the latter a revision of the former. Three arguments discountenance this view. It is clear that the author of the *Comte de Poitiers* knew of a bathing scene (ll. 393 ff.), which he did not use in its proper place (lines 288 ff.). This scene appears in the *Violette*, and does not come from its alternative source *Guillaume de Dole*. Secondly, this poem has a confusing allusion (ll. 413 ff.) to an earlier ravishment of the countess. The *Roman de la Violette* knows nothing of this, and it is a datum which upsets the outline of the narrative. Thirdly, this poem has two fights (lion and serpent), as against one in the other (serpent), though the words employed for the serpent-slaying in the *Violette* are very like those of the lion-slaying in the *Comte de Poitiers*. From this it is argued that *V* does not derive directly from *P*, but that both derive from a common original; and further, that the author of *P* was acquainted with a variant text, which included a lion-slaying episode and an earlier attachment of the ravisher. This gives us two dates to fix, viz. *O* and *P*. The original must be after 1170 (on the basis of allusions to *Aimeri*), and probably after 1173 (if 'Saint Thumas' in l. 777 is Becket); also probably before 1204, when Normandy was joined to France. The copy, however, is to be dated by the irrelevant history of the Count's son Gui, which must have arisen after the Fourth Crusade, and most probably after Frederic II's coronation at Jerusalem in 1229. The romance is composite, since its author has attempted to gain length and dignity by combining two themes. There is a rather strange scene (810-28) in which the traitor openly boasts to his paramour of the success of their scheme to deceive the Count. To become his mistress she must have had some of the allure of youth, and so be unaptly described as 'la vieille' elsewhere. Here again there is evidence of more than one source for *P*. The latter half of the Count's history (829-1048) is closely akin to the Moringer legend. This point has not been touched upon by Mr Malmberg, who has, in fact, conserved his energy to deal with French versions only, and among these almost wholly with those of Gaston Paris's class C.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

The Connections of the Geste des Loherains with other French Epics and Mediaeval Genres. By RUSSELL KEITH BOWMAN. New York. 1940. xv + 168 pp.

American mediaevalists in more than one university have of late been specially occupied with the *Geste des Loherains*. The work of Dr H. Green on *Anseïs de Mes* (Paris, 1939) was reviewed in these pages last October. Previously the Loherain Seminar directed by Dr P. Taylor in Columbia University had spurred Dr R. K. Bowman to an investigation of the alleged independence of the whole cycle. In the book now published he challenges the dictum of Paulin Paris, followed by Gautier and Suchier, to the effect that the Loherain cycle, apart from the effects of the *monomanie cyclique* which later resulted in many fantastic genealogies and adaptations, is unconnected with the other great groups of *Chansons de Geste*. Dr Bowman finds on the contrary certain subjects, events, names and even some passages which the cycle shares with other epic groups—a correspondence not to be wholly explained by the existence of a common fund of epic lore. Further, he discovers some few links with other literary *genres*, with the Arthurian legends, the *Roman de Renart*, etc. He does not always attempt to pronounce on the question of which is source and which imitation, his object being to point out identity or similarity, while avoiding the pitfalls of over-insistence on small shreds of analogy. The method followed is to examine in genealogical order the four branches of the Loherain cycle, *Hervis de Mes*, *Garin le Loherain*, *Girbert de Mes* (including *Yon*) and *Anseïs de Mes*, noting in each case the similarities with other French epics and so forth, more particularly, it would seem, the connexions with the Carolingian and the Guillaume cycles.

The findings of the author may be summarized as follows. In three of the branches of the Loherain cycle there are references to Roland, to his sword Durendal, to the twelve peers, and to Berte; but there are no such references in *Garin*, which is probably the oldest of the four. On the other hand *Garin* contains frequent accounts of the doings of *Auberi le Bourgain*, and we are provided with 'a perhaps painfully long summary' of the events in question, in order that a definite connexion between the two works may be made clear. Auberi also is seen to figure from the outset in *Girbert*, though the spicy note he introduces seems hardly consonant with epic dignity.

Passing to the Guillaume cycle there is a marked similarity to those of the Loherain cycle in the episodes describing the crowning of the weak young king by the loyal vassal, in defiance of the traitor. Pepin like Louis suffers as he grows older from a bad memory for past services and has to be reminded with bursts of rage by his vehement follower: 'Coronai vos malgré vos anemis.' Then the *Moniage Guillaume* shows a clear resemblance with the knights turning hermits in *Girbert*, but this may be a common tradition, inspired perhaps by the *Vie de St Léger*. *Girart de Roussillon*, the renegade who fights against Charles Martel, figures

largely in the Loherain cycle. In *Anseys* there is an allusion to Gormont, though the story seems to be fused with the general tradition of the Saracen invasions. The weaving of part of *Raoul de Cambrai* into *Yon* (in one MS.) justifies Paul Meyer's boutade against the 'sans-gêne véritable avec lequel certains trouvères traitaient les vieilles chansons'. There is an evident connexion, including identity of many lines, between *Ogier le Danors* and *Girbert*. Lastly, the story of the noble youth who (like St Francis of Assisi) resisted all efforts to make him a tradesman is similar in *Hervis*, *Vivien* and *Florent et Octavian*, as had already been pointed out by Bédier in the *Légendes Épiques*. So much for the principal connexions of the Loherain cycle with other Chansons de Geste.

Turning to the connexion of the cycle with other mediaeval genres there is naturally far less to note. There are brief references in certain MSS. of the *Geste des Loherains* to Arthur, Avalon and Tristan, which provide evidence, unless they are later additions, for the existence of the Breton legends. Like H. Green, Dr Bowman sees, at least in *Anseys*, the influence of Chrétien de Troyes, instancing the evident softening of customs, and such traits as the lamentations of women over their dead husbands. As for the *littérature bourgeoise*, the spirit of which was in general so alien to that of the epics, the author of *Yon* makes reference to the wiles of Renart and Ysengrin, while in one fabliau, that of the *Deus Bordeors Ribaus*, the jongleur boasts of knowing the whole story of the Loherains. A few further analogies are noted.

The conclusion reached is that the Loherain cycle is not an isolated provincial *Geste*; it embodies a substantial amount of matter found in other epics and has even some links with other genres. It is not always possible to determine what is imitation and what is original. Certainly the cycle in parts is older than many of the literary works with which it has manifest connexions. It preserves the savagery, the simplicity and the freshness of early mediaeval life, while the faults of later French epics are not to be found in it.

Dr Bowman's work will command respect for its thoroughness and admiration for the skill with which analogies have been traced, always a fascinating if somewhat perilous field of research. He has supplied a full bibliography and an index of proper names. The method of transcription employed and the use of accents, while perfectly intelligible, are not always those observed by disciples of the Sorbonne. Appendix I (the only one) gives the folio numbers and the line numbers of *Girbert* in the Berne MS. 113, which has been the subject of further research, so far unpublished, on the part of the author.

F. C. JOHNSON.

Quatre Etudes. By PAUL HAZARD. New York and London. Oxford University Press. 1940. 154 pp. 14s.

These four studies have already a long history. Originally lectures delivered at Bryn Mawr under the Mary Flexner Foundation, they were subsequently published in various periodicals: 'Solitude de Baudelaire' in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (15 February 1937); 'Les Caractères Nationaux du Lyrisme Romantique Français' in the *Revue des Cours et Conférences* (December 1935–February 1936); 'Sur un Cycle Poétique' in *Neophilologus* (xix) and 'Les Origines Philosophiques de l'Homme de Sentiment' in the *Romantic Review* (December 1937). In spite of occasional retouchings this book is therefore not new work but rather a Hazard anthology, and the reviewer's task must necessarily be limited to giving a reminder of the contents, since any attempt to pass judgement would be impertinent as well as very belated.

The first and slightest essay of the four describes the spiritual loneliness of Baudelaire not only in France but in the whole company of European poets. He came to maturity when Germans, Italians and Hungarians were singing impassioned songs of national self-determination, when industrial prosperity and rising national prestige were prompting the English 'happy' poets, Tennyson and the Brownings, to find all right in the world, and his brother poets in France were adapting their lyres to social themes or objective descriptions of the rare and beautiful. He alone, convinced of the vanity of so-called progress and the superficiality of most of the social panaceas and optimisms of his day, felt the urge to explore hitherto unfathomed depths of the human soul.

But if the merits of this first essay are to be found in its form rather than in any originality of matter (for this tale has often been told before), the matter of the study on romantic poetry is most interesting. M. Hazard's contention is that certain similarities between stock themes treated by romantic poets in France, Germany and England in no way obliterate striking differences in manner of treatment which spring from deep-seated racial characteristics. On his showing, French romantic poets, however universal their theme, however strong their purely personal emotional stimulus, however conscious their imitation of some foreign model or genre, remain as unmistakably French as Boileau or Voltaire. They are French by their instinctive need of clearness and lucid argument, logical presentation and rhetorical composition, as M. Hazard points out by some telling parallels between the skilfully composed *Nuits* of Musset and night-pieces of Novalis in which the poet abandons himself to unbridled imagination; French also by the dramatic tendency and constant recourse to the devices of oratory, the repetitions, the résumés, the apostrophes, the antitheses to be found at every turn not only in Hugo, but in Vigny, in Lamartine, however artless he may hope to appear. Nor are racial tendencies any less evident in the poets' attitude towards nature. The English and the Germans give themselves up to their enthusiasm; Burns, Wordsworth, Keats love the objects in nature for

their own sake, they are enthralled by the sights and sounds around them and find joy in describing them. But the French poet, even Lamartine, never forgets that he is a literary man; he is self-centred and self-conscious and always projects on to nature his own theories, emotions and attitudes, he arranges nature with an eye to human applications, moral lessons, self-justification. This is why the English nature poets are accurate, for true love is not blind, whereas Lamartine, for all his genuine love of the country, can be led by the literary and homocentric exigencies of his subject into committing glaring botanical blunders.

In the third essay, M. Hazard, no longer tied down to a specific subject, lets his fancy hover round a central theme: an apology for poetry. By drawing upon examples from Homer to Rimbaud he shows that poetry, like a living species, evolves in cycles. Born of an intense emotional experience, it enjoys a short period of youthful vitality, gets into the grooves and habits of middle age, in which it seeks to repeat its youthful successes by mere technical tricks, degenerates into a series of mechanical processes and so sickens and dies, but only to be reborn with a new strength and a different beauty.

Lastly, M. Hazard returns to literary history of a more orthodox kind. He examines the many and sometimes unexpected ingredients which combined to make up the typical Man of Feeling of the second half of the eighteenth century. They include Bayle, Locke and the 'sensual' school of philosophers, Leibniz and the optimists, Buffon and scientists like Maupertuis and Charles Bonnet. All these influences, and many more, won the average man round to the belief that the passions, far from being snares to be avoided, are essential elements in the natural order of things ordained by Providence, and from this belief, based on science, it was but a step to the deification of emotion itself. This essay is thus a succinct yet fully documented restatement of the obvious truth that literary ideas and attitudes come about, not through violent reactions nor even freaks of fashion, but through logical and uninterrupted evolution.

As befits an anthology, this collection of lectures illustrates both the author's range and variety of style. He is equally at home in the spiritual biography, the essay on comparative literature, the poetic expression of general ideas or the closely reasoned argument. There is nothing particularly new in this book, but it shows once again that M. Hazard has the gift of all great teachers; he can impart wisdom and facts, enthusiasm and method in nicely adjusted proportions.

L. W. TANCOCK.

LONDON.

Cervantes. By WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1940. 192 pp. 7s. 6d.

This book is not a biography. The story of Cervantes's life has been authoritatively and adequately told in James Fitzmaurice-Kelly's

memoir, another Oxford book. His thought is the subject of a masterly analysis by Américo Castro. Professor Entwistle makes a new advance. His theme is Cervantes's art, the art of a maker of books, which he studies in a series of ten connected essays or chapters entitled 'Experience', 'Sweet Poesy', 'A Wrong Turning', 'Laboratory', 'The Birth of *Don Quixote*', 'The Growth of *Don Quixote*', 'Master and Man', 'The Meaning of *Don Quixote*', 'The Hero as Pedant', and 'Ocean of Story'.

Placed in the middle like the keystone of an arch is the significant chapter 'Laboratory', devoted to the *Novelas Ejemplares*.

A volume was issued under that title in 1613, but several of its items had been written many years previously, and there were others not included within its covers. These short stories link the *Galatea* of 1585 to the *Persiles* of 1617, and out of them sprang *Don Quixote*. Arising at intervals alongside the Cervantine comedies, they exploit the same motifs in many cases and have the same dimensions; they show similar phases of development.

This extract conveys a hint of the theme which links the chapters together: the development of Cervantes's real genius, a genius for writing short stories. 'Experience' tells where he met his numerous characters and some of his subjects: on the roads of Spain, in Italy, Algiers, Seville. 'Sweet Poesy' is the story of a wistful failure ('desde mis tiernos años amé el arte dulce de la agradable Poesía') extending to much of his first book, the *Galatea* of 1585. Yet the defects of his eloquently prosy verse made for success in prose, and he was already a master of prose narrative in the *Galatea*. 'A Wrong Turning' records a failure in the drama, a love as early, and as persistent, as poetry. But the failure this time was relative, for he was supreme in the *entremés*—in modern parlance the *género chico*—and in grander drama the failure that Professor Entwistle laments most is his failure to influence his contemporaries, to their own great detriment. The plays represent a persistent effort over a quarter of a century, and both by subject and incident they intertwine with the *Novelas Ejemplares* and the *Don Quixote*. In the latter Cervantes's genius finds its fullest expression, achieved not by a sudden and lucky accident, but by a long and patient apprenticeship especially in the writing of short stories or novelettes.

Cervantes's novelettes, both those published in the *Novelas Ejemplares* of 1613 and those incorporated in other works, are redated in 'Laboratory' to show them developing from the pastoral *Galatea*, passing through a realistic stage influenced by Cervantes's Seville experience, and falling into a romantic and sentimental decline which brings his passionate love of story-telling to an end in *Persiles y Sigismunda*, the subject of 'Ocean of Story'. Dating has been attempted before, but as an end in itself. With Professor Entwistle it is a means to an end. *Don Quixote* is seen beginning as an exemplary novelette, one of a long series, and lengthening and expanding into the first and best of novels through a happy after-thought, the introduction of Sancho Panza into the story. The chapters dealing with the novel need no explanation.

This brief survey merely indicates the new angle from which Cervantes's work is envisaged in Professor Entwistle's chapters. These are written in distinguished style, with wide knowledge, deep sympathy, and acute perception; they will be most appreciated by those who know Cervantes best. The terse judgements will attract the attention of examinees, who will often find themselves anticipated by examiners. In some parts the limits of the book do not permit the statement of the other side of the case, or even the mention of critics who have held opposite views. But the parts fit into the whole like the fragments of a jigsaw puzzle, and the whole justifies the parts. The book should be one of the few necessary companions for the student of Cervantes.¹

H. THOMAS.

LONDON.

O Cancioneiro musical e poético da Biblioteca Pública Horténsia; com prólogo, transcrição e notas. By MANUEL JOAQUIM. (Published for the Instituto para a Alta Cultura.) Coimbra: Tipografia da Atlântida. 1940. 201 pp.

This excellent work is an edition of a song-book found in the city of Elvas, Portugal. The manuscript is in two parts. The first contains 63 songs with music for three voices (15 in Portuguese and the rest Castilian), together with a three-voice setting for some Castilian tercets by Dom Manuel de Portugal, and another for a hendecasyllabic triplet in Castilian. The second contains 15 ballads, 6 *glosas* and 14 *vlancetes*, all without music. The three parts of the music are transcribed separately in three of the halves offered by two pages, the fourth being filled by the words. There is no indication of instrumental accompaniment. The manuscript belonged to João Joaquim de Andrade (1790-1859), once Canon at Elvas. The binding is of the eighteenth century, the paper of the sixteenth. Senhor Joaquim does not put a date on the handwriting, which I should be inclined to assign to the seventeenth century, perhaps early in that century. The notes which contain the editor's erudite investigations show that several of the pieces are by Juan del Encina (1469-1529) and Garci-Sánchez de Badajoz (1460?-1526?). Gil Vicente knew songs very like some of these, and Pedro de Andrade Caminha used several of their themes. The date of Dom Manuel de Portugal was 1516?-1606. The contents of the manuscripts are therefore to be referred to the first half of the sixteenth century, and some go back to the fifteenth. This makes the present collection an important supplement to Asenjo Barbieri's *Cancionero musical del siglo XV*, with which it shares both words and tunes.

It is not for me to attempt to assess the skill of the musical editorship. The difficulty of the task I can dimly appreciate, since it has led the editor

¹ By a slip the words 'that title' were used on p. 87 though no title had been given. On p. 74 the Sack of Rome (1527) has been misdated.

to include virtually a treatise on sixteenth-century notation in his preface. The melodies are all very simple, but some are delightful, e.g. No. 10, 'Antonilla es desposada'. One learns again what an excellent musician was Juan del Encina; the choirmaster understands very well what he can do with a piece of verse and three voices. As some of the songs are anonymous, the question arises whether any of them may be older than the sixteenth century. No. 54 is an *aubade*:

Ja cantan los gallos,
amor mío, y vete;
cata que amanece.

It was set for four voices by Vilches (Barbieri, No. 413), and the Elvas manuscript's tune contains some of the bars used by Vilches. According to Gil Vicente, a cock-crow song was current in the first years of the sixteenth century, since he puts one into the mouth of his squire Aires Rosado. One exists in Galicia to-day in quatrain form; doubtless others existed in the Middle Ages. The characteristic mark of the music is an abrupt rise of an octave in the two syllables of 'cantan', and that may well have been traditional. The three-voice settings were doubtless novel, but we may suspect that some of the melodies were as traditional as the words.

The two pieces in hendecasyllables are different in musical character. No. 65 ('Venid a sospirar al verde prado') is as markedly lyrical as No. 64 is recitative. The words of the *volta* are often given a more even musical utterance than those of the more lyrical *mote*, and No. 63 ('A la villa voy'—did it suggest to Lope de Vega 'A mis soledades voy'?) uses repetition in the *mote* but carries the *volta* through in a straightforward manner. These are hints as to how men of the sixteenth century enjoyed their lyrics. The choice of verse-forms was no arbitrary one, but involved also a decision as to musical setting. No. 64 is a special case. The full text of Dom Manuel de Portugal's poem contains 382 lines, divided into 127 tercets. The tune is very simple; it is little more than a clear enunciation of the words. Citing Ronsard's statement that the whole of a similar poem was chanted to the melody of the opening lines, Senhor Joaquim is driven by the contemplation of monotony into sharing M. Gérold's belief that only a few lines would be actually so sung. This seems debatable. Hundreds of lines of ballads were being chanted to even simpler melodies, and (as we have noted) this tune is little more than clear cadential pronunciation, to which a certain variety might be given by allowing word-accent and caesura to influence the singing. The music is for four lines, the third being repeated. Should we not regard the fourth phrase as for use with the fourth line which closed the series of tercets?

On the literary side, I do feel competent to offer Senhor Joaquim an expression of respect and admiration. He has shown great skill and learning in tracking down the full texts of poems for which his manuscript gave him only a refrain and a verse. He has established the authorship

of many pieces, and has revealed parallels and imitations. His textual notes are important for the history of the sixteenth-century lyric in Spain and Portugal. The fifteen ballads (for which the music is lacking, most unluckily) have to be taken into account when discussing the history of their originals. They are in Castilian, in accordance with Portuguese practice in that century. The variant of *Sevilla y Peranzules* names the hero 'Diogo Ozorio'. There are shortened versions of *Moriana y Galván*, *Gaiferos* ('Caballero si a Francia ides'), and *La muerte de Don Alonso de Aguilar*.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

Rainer Maria Rilke. By E. M. BUTLER. Cambridge: University Press. 1941. x+437 pp. 21s.

The appearance of this volume on Rilke has been anticipated for some time with considerable interest. It is the first full-length monograph in English on the life and writings of a poet who, for the past quarter of a century, has increasingly interested creative and critical minds in this country. Not only so, but the brilliance of style and Shavian perspicacity of thought which characterized Professor Butler's previous works heightened this expectancy.

With a frankness calculated to disarm criticism, the author acknowledges at the outset two factors which, I think, account for the whole tenor of the work. Firstly, she has drawn many of her conclusions from what was necessarily 'insufficient data', so that these conclusions will possibly prove, in her own words, 'to be wide of the mark' and, secondly, having encountered in her wide reading on the subject an intolerable amount of 'Schwärmerei', she writes with intent to destroy all such nonsense. Thus gallantly nailing her colours to the mast, Professor Butler launches a broadside attack on idealizing sentimentality. Whether this is the best way by which to reach the heart of true criticism, in dealing with a great poet, is very questionable but, the battle once engaged, the excitement of the strategy is such that that question is lost sight of, for the time being. When the vigorous action is over, some mistaken ideas have been exploded, some new vistas have emerged and much information has been given—but the prospect is bleak. An East wind, more destructive than vivifying, seems to have passed over the whole.

The fact is that Professor Butler, whilst acknowledging the supreme qualities of Rilke's art, is less interested in his poetry than in the man himself—after the manner of many present-day critics—and with the man she is at variance. He is, in her view, consciously deceptive, a bad father and guilty to an abnormal degree of literary bad taste, he lives in fear of death, and in love with self-pity, and so on. The *malaria* engendered in the writer by contact with Rilke—'the study of his personality... (has been) painfully interesting' to her—has induced a

corresponding *malaise* of style. Or is it with deliberate perversity, such as that with which she frequently charges the poet, that in writing of so exquisite an artist in words she luxuriates in the phraseology of slang and displays a disorderliness of language which has not marked any previous work of hers? One cannot help feeling that the frequent deliberate use of journalese is subtle evidence of her feeling of antagonism. Deviation from accuracy in familiar quotations occurs so often as to be almost a mannerism, and corresponds curiously to a barely perceptible manipulation of facts in support of her purpose.

It is true that, so long as much remains unknown which is of vital importance in the history of Rilke's life and poetic development, any interim account must depend for its value, to a large extent, on intuitive analysis and critical penetration. But the unknown has stimulated Professor Butler's constructive imagination all too greatly and her readiness to indulge in quite unwarranted conjecture as regards motive, inspiration or event militates seriously against the validity of this study.

The writer harks back to the old bugbear which provoked Mr Mason's interesting but controversial *Lebenshaltung und Symbolik bei Rainer Maria Rilke* (1939), a work to which, as she acknowledges, she is considerably indebted. This bugbear is the absurdity of regarding Rilke as a saint. To attack it again—variously and in particular, with explicit emphasis, on p. 276—is to belabour a dead horse, for it is widely agreed that the absurdity of the idea is complete; so complete, indeed, as to wear rapidly thin and uninteresting under repeated reiteration. With this thesis in view, the author lays much emphasis on the evidence of the early years, lashing the raw imperfections of Rilke's callow youth with an eagerness which fails to place the facts in perspective and to see that much of his subject-matter and style is common to the naturalism of the period.

Elaborating the theory, already enunciated by Mr Mason, that Rilke's main purpose was to establish a new religion of Art—incidental to which design were his 'savage' attacks on Christianity—the author is led to make some astonishing assertions as, for instance, that the *Book of Hours* is purely a poetic statement of the idea that the great cathedral of Art—not God, as Rilke would deceitfully lead us to think—is being built by succeeding generations of artists. Whilst it is true that the whole cyclic poem is shot through with the idea of Art as the purest manifestation of God, a re-reading of the work itself shows such a view to be a case of special pleading and justifies distrust of Professor Butler's definition of the cycle as a 'highly mysterious expression of Rilke's overweening ideas about art'.

When the author proceeds to deal with the works and experiences of Rilke's maturity, she writes some passages of illuminating appreciation. Still clad in the 'armour of scepticism', she continues to oppose her ingenious powers of psychological analysis to the poet's deceptive allures, his aggravating reserve, his incessant pose (as she sees them). But,

fortunately, beneath this steely defence the shafts of Rilke's poetry, with its piercing beauty, have penetrated, causing her to write with keen discrimination and fine interpretative powers of poems from which she is unable to withhold admiration. It cannot be too much regretted that such pages form a relatively small part of the book. The rest, although based on much sound information, is misleading. All the more so, for those who come to it with insufficient previous knowledge, by reason of Professor Butler's incisive style. It is, indeed, the portrait of a poet seen through a temperament and leaves a final impression in which there is less of Rilke than of the writer who has thus depicted him.

G. CRAIG HOUSTON.

LONDON.

German Literature through Nazi Eyes. By H. G. ATKINS. London: Methuen. 1941. vii+136 pp. 6s.

In this volume Professor Atkins has collected a great deal of valuable information for three overlapping classes of readers: for specialist students of German literature and culture, for the wider public more generally interested in these topics, and for all who regard the German problem as one of prime importance in considering present-day world politics and the possibilities of a post-war settlement on a really sound basis. His main purpose has, of course, been to survey in broad outline the Nazi re-orientation of literary criticism as applied both to their national heritage of great literature and to the literary output of contemporary German writers. But this has involved an account of the propaganda by which the German public (or a large part of it) has been drugged, and of the methods used for controlling every form of literary production (even the University dissertation) and regulating literary consumption; and it has also led the author in his 'Conclusion' (pp. 91-96) to remark on the relationship between the chief results of his study and parallel phenomena in the political sphere. 'The same general features are seen in literature as elsewhere in the Nazi order. In literature, too, we see a vast one-sidedness. The literary gangsters, like the political gangsters, have successfully bumped off their opponents.' 'The Nazis do not want to be good Europeans or citizens of the world, but to break away from the community of nations. Those ages in Germany are most decried in which there was most of the brotherhood of man. For them the lowest depth was reached in the Age of Enlightenment.' 'What appeared to be the solidly-fashioned structure of German literary history is being taken down, many of the stones rejected, while others are refashioned and fitted into a new edifice. The emphasis is entirely new. Not pure literary merit is the touchstone, but furtherance of the new national and racial ideals. That is good literature which suits the Nazi party.' It would be out of place here to discuss the political implications of the present Nazi domination of all non-exiled literary production, valuation, and con-

sumption. But it may be remarked that readers of this book will find more than enough evidence of how the wonderful German 'Herrenvolk' has accepted such domination by gangsters and time-servers, just as it has accepted many another form of tyranny, almost without opposition, sacrificing nearly all Christian and civilized standards and ideals and entrusting the future to a young generation whose minds have been systematically warped from childhood onwards.

Two chapters of a preparatory character lead up to the main theme of the volume. The first, on 'The Seizure of Power' (pp. 1-17), gives an excellent condensed account of the initial propaganda, the book burning and banning, the setting up of a 'Reichsschrifttumskammer' and of a censorship under Alfred Rosenberg (notorious as the author of *Der Mythos des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*), the 'toeing of the line' by individual writers, editors, and publishers, the control established over the monumental 'Deutsche Literatur' series, the purging of the literary section of the Prussian Academy, and so forth. Though much of this is already pretty generally known, it is useful to have it presented in orderly fashion, documented by well-chosen quotations, and enlivened both by suggestive comments and by some degree of special attention to selected incidents, publications, and writers. The devotion of two and a half pages to Professor Hans Naumann's conversion to the Nazi standpoint, illustrated chiefly by a comparison of the 1931 and the 1933 editions of his *Deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart*, is justified in view of this professor's academic reputation and because his case may be taken as representative of what has been happening throughout the German literary world. But apart from conversions like his there has been the emergence of new Nazi writers of literary histories and exponents of the new standards; the more notable of their publications are briefly described or mentioned at the end of this chapter. The second preparatory chapter, on 'The New Vocabulary' (pp. 18-24), introduces some dozens of the political and literary catch-words and slogans that interlard the jargon of Nazi propaganda and criticism. Some of them are not satisfactorily translatable, but Professor Atkins suggests translations of some and explains the meanings or illustrates the uses of others, and gives examples of the sort of clap-trap turned out. It may be observed here that he has throughout, with few exceptions, followed the plan of quoting connected passages in his own very skilful English translations and giving the original German in the Appendix (pp. 97-130). One of the exceptions occurs in this chapter, the German being quoted and translated in a footnote. It consists of ten lines from Walter Linden's *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* and contains, as Professor Atkins puts it, '10 winners in 71 words'; eight of them, at any rate, are obviously typical examples of the new-fangled Nazi expressions: 'arteigen', 'volkhaft', 'artfremd', 'westlerisch', 'volksfremd', 'Seelentum', 'arthaft', 'dem Volke verbunden'. It may be assumed that with the passing of Nazidom many of its neologisms will die out, but many have a genuine value and

will live on; there is scope here for the linguistically minded to undertake a special study worth while both from the purely philological and from the cultural point of view.

'The Revaluation' (pp 25-80) gives the results of Professor Atkins's enquiry into the Nazi attitude to a selection of Germany's greatest writers, from Klopstock down to Gerhart Hauptmann and Thomas Mann, together with brief surveys of the new outlook on important literary periods and movements. Klopstock is restored to the eminence from which he had long been slipping down; not, however, as a great pioneer in imaginative conception and style and metre, but solely because of the strains of nationalism and nordicism to be seen in his 'Bardiete' and some of his Odes. He was, in fact, by no means the first German writer of note to express patriotic feelings, but he was the first to voice a bellicose (indeed anti-British) nationalism. The Nazis acclaim him now as their own forerunner and, surely on somewhat slender grounds, as the poet who initiated the reaction against westernism. Lessing is claimed as an opponent of Christianity and lauded as a writer and fighter. His *Minna* is praised, though its 'enlightened' preconceptions are deplored, and some critics attack it for its views on patriotism. *Nathan* is condemned as 'Das Hohelied der Humanität' which led to the emancipation of the Jews, is regarded as 'senile' because it teaches that 'the good' is an obligation of universal validity, and is put on the 'black list'—a fate escaped apparently by his youthful plea for fairness to the Jews, *Die Juden*. Herder is claimed, on the basis of one aspect of his earlier influence, as the fountain-head of the whole nationalist movement; his later humanitarianism is looked on as senile deterioration. Goethe and Schiller the Nazis are, of course, particularly anxious to claim as their own. In Goethe's case especially this requires careful selection, tactful omission, and much ingenuity. That he is hailed as the first great example of the new paganism is not very surprising, but that he meant Mephistopheles to typify the Jew is a novel idea. He is classed as a forerunner of the new racial doctrine by reason of his 'biologische Denkform', and on the basis of some parts of the *Wanderjahre* and *Faust II* as an upholder of the 'Führerprinzip'; a spiritual affinity between him and Hitler (!) is vamped up by August Raabe; he is claimed even in his totality as a forerunner of a system based on achievement ('Leistung'); in fact, as Professor Atkins puts it: 'Goethe they merely wave as a banner, and his achievement they only value as an asset in the eyes of the world.' Schiller is claimed more emphatically as the poet who has voiced the Nazi heroic militant conception of life, and who has expressed in *Wilhelm Tell* the spirit of 'Gemeinschaft' and the German ideals of freedom—a nice example of disingenuousness! The same principles and similar dodges are applied in revaluation Jean Paul, Hölderlin, Heinrich von Kleist (the one great contemporary of Goethe who might perhaps, in fact, have been a Nazi if he had lived to-day and if he had been caught by the movement before reaching the maturer standpoint shown in his

Prinz von Homburg), Grillparzer (one of the few neutral writers calling for little or no revaluation), Hebbel (a 'Herrennatur'), Heine (ignored by some, denounced or reviled by others), Paul Heyse (usually dismissed as a half-Jew and out of date), Gerhart Hauptmann (almost banned for four years, then publicly honoured in 1937, and now allowed some merits, but disparaged as not really 'volkhaft', tainted with enlightened ideas, not a fighter or a great personality), and Thomas Mann (to whom the Nazi critics devote much attention, mainly to condemn him for his lack of reality, his estrangement from the vital forces, his sympathy with the phenomena of decay, and his lack of constructiveness). Some readers may miss accounts of the revaluation of Storm, Mörike, C. F. Meyer, Keller, Freytag, Stifter, or other authors in whom they are specially interested; but from the above fairly representative selection they will be able to make a good guess at what to expect. After all, this revaluation will surely soon be mainly of interest as a temporary aberration of criticism under the lead of poorly qualified newcomers in this field of work. At the same time it is rather distressing, even if sometimes amusing, to see how eminent critics have so quickly adapted themselves to the new outlook, in some cases achieving a complete *volte face* with no perceptible blush; willy-nilly they have fallen into line with the fanatical or time-serving smaller fry who have pushed themselves forward since 1933 as authoritative spokesmen.

A short chapter (pp. 81-90) on 'Heralds of the Third Realm' mentions a number of writers regarded by the Nazi critics as more or less contemporary pioneers of their movement, and shows what is particularly appreciated in the works of Stefan George, Rilke, Hans Grimm, and Kolbenheyer. (Would it not have been well to include Nietzsche in this group?) The first two of them are subjected to the same sort of selection and manipulation as other writers difficult to assimilate. With Hans Grimm this is not necessary, as his essays and his prose fiction, especially his *Volk ohne Raum*, contain so much that the Nazi critics can unreservedly approve; what they think of his recent campaign against 'Vermassung' does not appear; perhaps they fail to realize its applicability to themselves and nearly all their fellow-countrymen. Kolbenheyer is hailed even more justifiably than Grimm as a prophet of the new order. His social philosophy, in particular, though expressed in language that, as Professor Atkins mildly puts it, 'only experts can readily follow', with its rejection of the old idealism and of the value of free personality, its demand that the individual must be entirely subordinated to the community and all artistic powers made subservient to the community, exactly suits the Nazi book.

A select bibliography of nearly 40 titles shows the sources used in the investigation and will be useful to any who wish to pursue the subject further. There is also a combined index of authors and those of their works that have been mentioned.

We ought to be grateful to Professor Atkins for publishing this study,

which is not only interesting in itself but also sure to prove useful to other scholars and likely to call forth further investigations.

F. E. SANDBACH.

MALVERN.

SHORT NOTICES

The Oxford University Press is responsible for two series of brochures, *Etudes Internationales*, *Collection Oxford*, and *Flugschriften zur Welt-politik*, in French and German respectively (Oxford University Press. 1940. 20 vols. Each volume ca. 30-40 pp. 6d.). These short treatises upon great questions of topical importance are set forth for the benefit of French and German readers, and thus also meet the needs of the numerous Polish, Czech, Belgian or Dutch nationals now in this country. I observe that some of the German brochures, in particular, had to be reprinted within a month.

The intention of the series clearly is to furnish information rather than propaganda, and it would be difficult to find higher authority upon the various problems discussed than the writers to whom their treatment has been entrusted. The writers, moreover, have maintained an attitude of judicious and temperate detachment, or attachment to essential truth, which lends weight. These brochures are documents also.

It seems to me that in certain instances the problem of the Nazi point of view, e.g. the religious or the racial, has been too much isolated from more general movements of thought. And the general problem of European politics, which Sir Alfred Zimmern acutely points out, extends beyond German immaturity, though this is by far the most potent instance. The problem of translating English thought and writing into French and German is, inevitably, considerable. Are the German texts on the whole more successful because it becomes necessary to re-think and to re-write if a French version is to read like a French original?

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

After consulting manuscripts, incunabula, Longnon, Thuasne, Mr E. F. Chaney has provided his own competent edition of *The Poems of François Villon* (Oxford: Blackwell. 1940. 205 pp. 5s.); after a conscientious perusal of Payne, Stacpoole and even Wharton, he has placed his own translation alongside the French text. In short, Mr Chaney must know his Villon inside-out, so the reader need have no doubts as to his interpretation of the author's meaning. But poetry, unfortunately for translators, is not the Code Civil, and interpretation of meaning is not enough. If poetry is translated into a foreign tongue and left, as in this case, to speak for itself, without commentary, expression must be rendered all the more carefully. No sprinkling, however thick, of 'tis' and 'twas' and 'twill', of 'o'er' and 'ere', of verbs in '-est' and '-eth' will

ever suffice to cover its deficiencies. This translation is *sérieux* in every sense of the word; Archipiada has not even received honourable mention; La Grosse Margot has drawn a shattering blank. The translator's diffident use of language (revealed, independently of translation, in his Preface) has prevented him from doing full justice to both the lyrical sweeps and the playful *astuces* of the original, though there is little doubt that his promised commentary will make it clear that he had by no means underestimated their value.

THOMAS WALTON.

INVERNESS.

Professor J. B. Trend's statement, 'I have always had a preference for legends rather than for more sober history', strikes the key-note of his *Mexico, a New Spain with Old Friends* (Cambridge: University Press. 1940. 185 pp. 12s. 6d.). Instead of the sobriety of exhaustive scholarship he brings to his account of Mexico a lightness of touch and a breadth of human interests. Beginning by setting the names of mountains and volcanoes to familiar operatic tunes, he proceeds to roam through botany, archaeology, mythology, architecture, economics and politics to linguistics and the problem of devising an alphabet for all the Indian languages. Eschewing technicalities, he digresses with considerable charm and humour from one topic to another. It is in its manner and style that the interest of the book lies, rather than in any originality in particular observations. It was to maintain contact with the *emigrados* from Republican Spain—the Spanish Pilgrim Fathers, as he calls them—that Professor Trend went to Mexico; and throughout the work we meet the rather simplified presentation of political and social problems with which other books of his have already familiarized us. In the large households of the 'Mexico of to-morrow' the function which had previously been performed by the chapel now seems to be performed by the bath-room: '... a pair of fluted columns and two steps led up to a bath like an altar, in cream and pink porcelain, with a shower like a *baldacchino*. At one side, instead of a stoup for holy water, there was one of those little basins you see in American pullmans, used only for cleaning teeth' (p. 124). This change to a more civilized form of worship has Professor Trend's admiring approval. The chapter on Mexican Spanish contains very little that is new; some of the phenomena characterized as especially Mexican (such as the reduction of vowels in hiatus) are common in the greater part of Spanish America.

A. A. PARKER.

ABERDEEN.

Mr G. W. F. R. Goodridge has written a companion to Chevalley's *Concise Oxford French Dictionary*, which he has entitled *A Practical English-French Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1940. v + 295 pp. 5s.). The two books are also available in a one-volume edition for 10s. Care has been taken with definitions, and a danger-signal is used to denote

faux-amis. 'Special attention has been given to the general requirements of schools, to commercial phraseology, and to modern war terms. For a handbook of the kind a very full list of animals, flowers, fruits, fish, birds, and insects has been included.' A good deal has been omitted, of course, in order to reduce the size of books. One finds, for instance, 'purl (of streams)', but not 'purl (to invert stitches)', and among the punches there is no drink.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

7530 items form the author list of *The Spanish Drama Collection in the Oberlin College Library*, described by Mr P. P. Rogers (Oberlin College. 1940. ix+468 pp. \$4.50). The great authors of the seventeenth century are represented, but the bulk of entries are of the age of Breton de los Herreros and after. They include a vast amount of tradesmanlike matter, such as the work of Arniches, in which there is always some entertainment to be encountered. The editor calls attention to similar collections in the Universities of North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Dartmouth, which enable American Hispanists to do a great deal of research without the necessity of going abroad. It would be difficult to find in Spain material so well arranged for study. British students also might profitably go West to prosecute their Spanish studies in libraries infinitely better equipped than their own.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

In *Fifty Years of German Drama. A Bibliography of Modern German Drama, 1880-1930* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1941. 111 pp. \$3.75) Dr Ernst Feise has taken as his basis the collection of some 3000 volumes, nearly all first editions, which Dr Alfred Loewenberg had gathered over a period of years 'with such skill and devotion that it approaches completeness'. The collection, which has been acquired by the Johns Hopkins University Library through a grant of the Friends of the Library, is not confined to the works of German playwrights, but includes a wide range of foreign dramatists, Aeschylus and D'Annunzio, Sophocles and Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde and P. G. Wodehouse, translations or adaptations of whose works are included in the library. The title has therefore to be taken in a very liberal sense. The aim of the publication is to give a composite picture of German dramatic activity during the period under review, both in its own original production and in the influence it exercised and underwent. The editor's work has been carried out with skill and accuracy. An interesting feature is the careful registration, wherever possible, of the place and date of the first performance, even when private, of the plays enumerated.

H. G. ATKINS.

LONDON.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

April—June 1941

With the collaboration of PAMELA GRADON (English)

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Italian.

TREVELYAN, R. C., *Translations from Leopardi*. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 3s. 6d.

Spanish.

Cuatro Comedias, edited by J. M. Hill and M. M. Harlan. New York, W. W. Norton. \$4.25.

MOORE, J. A., *The 'Romancero' in the Chronicle-Legend Plays of Lope de Vega*. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania. \$2.00.

French.

HUNT, H. J., *The Epic in Nineteenth-Century France*. Oxford, Blackwell. 25s.

LANCASTER, H. C., *The Comédie Française 1680-1701. Plays, Actors, Spectators, Finances*. Johns Hopkins and Oxford Univ. Presses. \$3.00.

SOULEYMAN, E. V., *The Vision of World Peace in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century France*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

STEWART, H. F., *The Secret of Pascal*. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 5s.

VALÉRY, P., *La Politique de l'esprit notre souverain bien*, ed. by L. Leveaux. Manchester, Univ. Press. 2s.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES

English.

(a) *General (including linguistic).*

BARKLEY, W., *The Two Englishes*. Pitman. 2s. 6d.

DAICHES, D., *Poetry and the Modern World*. Cambridge and Chicago Univ. Presses. 15s.

HARBAGE, A., *Annals of English Drama. 975-1700*. Pennsylvania and Oxford Univ. Presses. 18s. 6d.

Hermathena: A Series of Papers on Literature, Science and Philosophy. By Members of Trinity College, Dublin. No. LVII. Dublin, Hodges, Figgis; London, Longmans. 3s.

MACDONALD, A., *The Place-Names of West Lothian*. Edinburgh and London, Oliver and Boyd. 15s.

Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, ed. by R. Hunt and R. Klibansky, I, 1. 21s. per annum.

Proceedings of the British Academy. Vol. xxv, 1939. London, Oxford Univ. Press for the British Academy. 30s.

Spoken English: Its Practice in Schools and Training Colleges, ed. by J. Compton. London, Methuen. 6s.

Treasury of the World's Great Letters, A, ed. by M. L. Schuster. London, Heinemann. 12s. 6d.

WAPLES, D., B. BERELSON, and F. R. BRADSHAW, *What Reading does to People*. Cambridge and Chicago Univ. Presses. 12s.

(b) *Old and Middle English.*

- CHADWICK, H. M., *The Study of Anglo-Saxon*. Cambridge, Heffer. 3s.
The Parker Chronicle and Laws. A Facsimile, ed. by R. Flower and H. Smith
 (E.E.T.S. 208). London, H. Milford. £3. 3s.

(c) *Modern English.*

- ASKWITH, B., *Keats*. London, Collins. 12s. 6d.
 BENTLEY, G. E., *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage. Dramatic Companies and
 Players*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 42s.
 CAWLEY, R. R., *Unpathed Waters. Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on
 Elizabethan Literature*. Princeton and Oxford Univ. Presses. 22s. 6d.
 DAICHES, D., *The King James Version of the English Bible*. Chicago and
 Cambridge Univ. Presses. 15s.
 GOVE, P. B., *The Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction*. Columbia and Oxford
 Univ. Presses. 23s. 6d.
 KLIBANSKY, R., *Leibniz's Unknown Correspondence with English Scholars and
 Men of Letters*. London, Warburg Institute.
 MACKAIL, D., *The Story of J.M.B.* London, Davies. 11s. 6d.
 MORE, ST T., *History of the Passion*, trans. by Mary Basset, ed. by P. E. Hallett.
 London, Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 6s.
 MROZ, SR. M. B., *Divine Vengeance: A Study in the Philosophical Backgrounds
 of the Revenge Motif as it appears in Shakespeare's Chronicle History
 Plays*. Washington, Catholic Univ. of America Press.
 NITCHIE, E., *The Reverend Colonel Finch*. Columbia and Oxford Univ. Presses.
 10s.
 OSBORN, J. M., *John Dryden. Some Bibliographical Facts and Problems*.
 Columbia and Oxford Univ. Presses. 23s. 6d.
 PAINE, C. S., *The Comedy of Manners (1660-1700). A Reference Guide to the
 Comedy of the Restoration*. Boston, F. W. Faxon.
 SCOTT, SIR W., *The Journal of*, ed. by J. G. Tait. London, Oliver and Boyd. 5s.
 SHAKESPEARE, W., *Henry the Fourth Part Two*, ed. by M. A. Shaaber (*Variorum
 Shakespeare*). Philadelphia and London, Lippincott. 42s.
 THOMPSON, C. R., *The Translations of Lucian by Erasmus and St Thomas More.
 From the author*, Ithaca, N.Y.
 THORPE, C. D., *The Aesthetic Theory of Thomas Hobbes*. Michigan and Oxford
 Univ. Presses. \$4.00.
 TINKER, C. B., and H. F. LOWRY, *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold*. London,
 Oxford Univ. Press. 12s. 6d.
 TUELL, A. K., *John Sterling*. New York, Macmillan. \$3.50.
 WEBER, C. J., *Hardy of Wessex*. Columbia and Oxford Univ. Presses. 20s.
 WEISS, R., *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century (Medium
 Aevum Monographs, IV)*. Oxford, Blackwell. 12s. 6d.
 WHITE, N. I., *Shelley*. New York, Knopf.
 WOODBRIDGE, H. E., *Sir William Temple*. New York, Modern Language Associa-
 tion of America; London, Humphrey Milford. 21s. 6d.